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ON THE TYPES AND USES OF CH'ING DOCUMENTS

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article, like its predecessor "On the Transmission of Ch'ing Documents,"² is designed to aid American students of modern Chinese history. As every such student realizes to his discomfort, the available Chinese documents³ present several problems that are not presented to an equal degree by western documents. The problem of dating memorials has been attacked in the article mentioned above. Many more difficult questions await the coming generation. In general we lack knowledge of the administrative institutions of the Manchu dynasty which produced the documents now available. Like observers for centuries past, we are obliged to accept the utterances of the Emperor without clearly knowing who drafted them or how they were approved. It is obvious that our appraisal of imperial policy must wait upon our understanding of how it was made. As one step in this direction, the present study attacks the problem of the procedure followed by the central administration in dealing with the documents presented to it.

It need hardly be remarked that we are here concerned with

¹ We are indebted to Prof. K. N. BIGGERSTAFF of Cornell University for assistance in the preparation of section 5 of this paper.

² *HJAS* 4: 12-46

³ The chief published collections of Ch'ing documents which should be available in all Chinese libraries are listed alphabetically by romanization in section 4 below, including abbreviated titles by which reference hereafter is made.

a very complex administrative system, the accumulation of centuries, parts of which were certainly in decay before 1900 but all of which continued formally in existence until after that time. The structure of this administrative system is on the whole faithfully portrayed in the *Institutes or Collected Statutes of the Ch'ing* (*Ta-ch'ing hui-tien* 大清會典),⁴ from which we know the composition and duties of the central administrative organs,—the Grand Secretariat (Nei Ko) and Grand Council (Chün Chi Ch'ü),⁵—and of the other offices at the capital. On the other hand, the actual functioning of these bodies, in close relation one to another, has been relatively little studied,⁶ attention having been devoted thus far chiefly to the identification of the voluminous archives⁷ which they left behind.

⁴ Editions of the *Ta ch'ing hui tien* are cited below by the reigns in which they appeared, viz *K'ang hsi hui-tien* (pub 1690), *Yung-ch'eng hui-tien* (preface 1732), *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien* and *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien tsé-li* (both completed 1761), *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* and *Chia ch'ing hui tien shih li* (both completed 1818), *Kuang hsi hui tien* and *Kuang hsi hui-tien shih-li* (both pub 1899)

These editions differ markedly in their treatment of some subjects. In general the *K'ang hsi* and *Yung-ch'eng* editions are similar in content, the *Ch'ien lung* edition differs greatly from its predecessors, and the *Chia ch'ing* and *Kuang hsi* editions are largely the same. Thus the various editions provide extensive material for the study of the evolution of the Ch'ing administration. We have taken the *Chia-ch'ing* edition (1818) as a basis, that of 1899 is modelled upon it.

⁵ Translations of official titles follow H S BRUNNERT and V V HAGELSTROM, *Present Day Political Organization of China*, Shanghai 1912, cited as BRUNNERT. It is unfortunate that this comprehensive manual includes so many ephemeral titles created during the reforms that preceded the revolution of 1911. W F MAYERS, *The Chinese Government*, Shanghai 1897, revised by G M H PLAYFAIR, cited as MAYERS, is briefer but often more accurate for the nineteenth century.

⁶ HSIEH Pao-chao 謝寶樞, *The Government of China 1644-1911*, Balt 1925, 68-87, summarizes parts of the *Kuang hsi hui tien* pertinent to this paper and contains much valuable data. Its usefulness as a reference work is seriously marred by the lack of an index, romanizations and footnote references are often imperfect in form. To Dr HSIEH's credit it should be remembered that this was a pioneer work compiled before the publication of the *Ch'ing shih kao* and most of the documentary collections.

⁷ Much has been written during the last decade on Ch'ing archives, but often without reference to the subject of procedure. The more valuable articles include the following cited below by author:

CHANG Te-tse 張德澤, *Chün chi-chü ch'ü ch'ü tang-an* 軍機處及其檔案 (The Grand Council and its Documents), *Wen hsien lun ts'ung* 文獻論叢 (Collected Articles from the Historical Records Office), Palace Museum, Peiping Oct 1936, part 2, 57-84.

When taken together, the *Collected Statutes* and the archives give us an opportunity to study the progress of memorials and other documents as they passed through a succession of offices at the capital on their way to and from the imperial presence. On these routine journeys their progress was marked by the creation of other records in the form of duplicate copies, summaries, or entries in official registers, each of which was called by a special name. Moreover the various original and duplicate memorials, depending on their nature and on the Emperor's action in regard to them, became differentiated and deposited accordingly, under different classifications. When other types of correspondence and

CHAO Ch'üan-ch'eng 趙泉澄, *Pei-ching ta hsüeh so-tsang tang-an ti fen-hsi* 北京大學所藏檔案的分析 (Archives in the National Peking University), *Chung-kuo chin tai-ching-chi shih yen-chiu chi k'an* 中國近代經濟史研究集刊 (Studies in Modern Economic History of China) 2 no 2, May 1934 (Special Issue on Archives of Ming and Tsing Governments cited below as *Ching-chi-shih yen-chiu*) 222-254

FANG Su sheng 方甦生, *Ch'ing tai tang-an fen-lei wen ti* 清代檔案分類問題 (Problems in the Classification of Documents of the Ch'ing Dynasty), *Wên-hsien lun ts'ung* 27-48

Hsü (1) Hsu Chung shu 徐中舒, *Chung yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so so-tsang tang-an ti fen-hsi* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所所藏檔案的分析 (Archives in the Institute of Philology and History, Academia Sinica), *Ching-chi-shih yen-chiu*, 169-221

Hsü (2) Hsu Chung shu 徐中舒, *Nei-lo tang-an chü yü lai chi ch' ch' ch'eng-li* 內閣檔案之由來及其整理 (The Origin and Reconditioning of the Archives of the Grand Secretariat), *Ming-ching shih-liao* 1, 1-14

Hsü (3) Hsu Chung shu, *Tsai shu nei ko ta k'u tang an chü yü lai chi ch' ch'eng li* 再述 (Further Remarks on the Origin and Reconditioning of the Archives of the Great Storehouse of the Grand Secretariat), *CI YI* 3 537-576 Peiping 1934

KOESTER, Hermann KÖSTER (sic), *The Palace Museum of Peking, Monumenta serica* 2 167-190 (1936-7)

SHAN Shih k'uei 單士魁, *Ch'ing tai t' pen chih tu l'ao* 清代題本制度攷 (The System of T' pen of the Ch'ing Dynasty), *Wên-hsien lun ts'ung*, part 2 177-189

SHAN Shih yuan (1) 單士元, *Ch'ing-tai tang-an shih-ming fa fan* 清代檔案釋名發凡 (An Introduction to the Terminology of Documents of the Ch'ing Dynasty), *Wên-hsien lun ts'ung*, part 2 147-154

SHAN Shih yuan (2), *Ku kung po-wu yüan wen-hsien kuan so-tsang tang-an ti fen-hsi* 故宮博物院文獻館所藏檔案的分析 (Archives in the Library of the Palace Museum), *Ching-chi-shih yen-chiu*, 270-280

TENG Chih-cheng 鄧之誠, *Tan chun-chi-ch'u* 談軍機處 (A Lecture on the Chün Chü Ch'u) *SHNP* 2 no 4 193-198

accounts are added, it is not surprising to find that the archives of an important body like the Grand Council are classified under one hundred and fifty-five different headings. A similar situation might be created if the British documents in the Public Record Office were sub-divided and classified according to whether they had been seen by the sovereign or not, whether they had been taken to a cabinet meeting or not, and so on, each category bearing a different name.

Thus the categories of classification in the archives mirror quite closely the steps in procedure followed in the actual conduct of administration. In short, to understand how decisions were taken one must understand the types of documents made in the process; the two problems cannot be divided. Therefore we present below in section 5 a catalogue of the chief types of documents; while in the pages that precede an attempt is made to summarize the administrative procedure in the Grand Secretariat and Grand Council. The activity of the Hanlin Academy (Han Lin Yüan 翰林院, also called the National Academy, or College of Literature), and of some other bodies which dealt with ceremonial rather than political matters, is touched upon only indirectly.

For the reader's guidance it may be noted that in form the administrative initiative usually rested with the Emperor's ministers rather than with the Emperor. Business of all kinds, great or small, was first brought up in a memorial to the Emperor; imperial action then followed. There were memorials of different types, and various forms that the imperial action might take regarding them. The most common of the latter were (1) a simple Endorsement (p'i 批), (2) a Rescript (chih 旨), usually somewhat more lengthy,—both of which were written on the original memorial,—and (3) an Edict (yü 諭), which was an independent document. (Our choice of English equivalents for these and other terms is explained in section 5 below, term by term.) These imperial declarations were considered important not only because they set in motion the wheels of state but also, and to a greater degree, because they partook of the sanctity of the imperial person. Just as all references to the Emperor or to things associated with him must be elevated (t'ai-t'ou 抬頭) from one to three characters above the ordinary text of a document, so all statements emanat-

ing from him received extraordinary and reverent attention. This attitude, combined with the fact that the Emperor usually ruled as well as reigned, provides a chief point of contrast with western administrative procedure. Thus a Chinese Edict often corresponds roughly to western Instructions, but it would hardly be correct to say that it was a mere equivalent.

2. PROCEDURE IN THE GRAND SECRETARIAT (NEI KO)

In brief, the Grand Secretariat was an institution inherited from the Ming and was the highest administrative body of the empire until the creation of the Grand Council in 1729.⁸ After that date and throughout the nineteenth century the Grand Secretariat continued to function, but only as a body of secondary importance dealing with routine matters.⁹ It became unimportant as a policy-

⁸ For the date 1729 see note 39 below.

⁹ YEH Feng mao 葉鳳毛, *Nei ko hsiao-chih* 內閣小志 (A Brief Sketch of the Grand Secretariat), pub. 1765, describes the various sub-offices of the Secretariat, which were housed in a group of buildings inside the front gate of the Palace in the south-eastern section. His list omits two of the sub-offices listed in *Chia ch'ing*¹⁰ and *Kuang hsu hui tien* and includes six others not listed in the **hui tien*, among the latter being the Grand Council a body that technically was an offshoot of the Secretariat in origin. The twelve sub-offices listed in the **hui tien* and in Hsu (1) 199 are as follows:

1 Archives Offices (Tien Chi T'ing 典籍廳), divided into a northern and a southern section: the northern section in general dealing with matters concerning the Emperor and the southern section in general dealing with matters concerning other offices of government and so having charge of the seals used in all correspondence of the Grand Secretariat.

2 Manchu Copying Office (Man Pen Fang 滿本房)

3 Chinese Copying Office (Han Pen Fang 漢本房)

4 Mongolian Copying Office (Meng-ku Fang 蒙古房)

5 Manchu Registry (Man Piao Chien Chu 滿票籤處)

6 Chinese Registry (Han Piao Chien Ch'u 漢票籤處)

7 Honorary Titles Office (Kao Chih Fang 誥敕房)

8 Inspectorate (Chi Ch'a Fang 稽察房)

9 Receiving and Forwarding Office (Shou Fa Hung pen Ch'u 收發紅本處), *i.e.* for Hung pen.

10 Mess Allowance Storehouse (Fan Yin K'u 飯銀庫)

11 Duplicate Memorial Storehouse (Fu pen Ku 副本庫), BRUNNERT calls this Archives Office (no. 138) and contains no translation for Tien Chi T'ing.

12 Endorsement Copying Office (Pi pen Chu 批本處)

The function of most of these offices will appear from the text and notes below.

From this it will be seen that T'i-pên concerned chiefly routine local civil affairs and bore the seal of the memorialist; Tsou-pên concerned chiefly important matters of state or the personal affairs of the memorialist and did not bear the seal of the memorialist.

taking over the seals of office, leaving his post, or handing over (to a successor); acknowledgments of the receipt of imperial commands (ch'ih) or edicts (yü) or of books distributed to all provincial offices, whether reporting dates of receipt or expressing gratitude, the sending of congratulations or statements of thanks on behalf of all the officials and people of a province, cases the reports of which are not originally clear and concerning which a rescript was received ordering a further memorial,—all these matters belong to the category of public affairs, T'i pên ought to be used. As to (matters concerning) the arrival of any official at a new post, his promotion or transfer, his receipt of honorary distinctions, his being honorably recorded (for good service), or pardoned, or degraded and punished, or degraded and deprived of rank but left at his post, or matters concerning expressions of gratitude for special grants or rewards, or words of thanks on behalf of subordinate officials,—Tsou pen ought to be used, none should be stamped with the seal of office" (*Kuang hsü hui tien shih-li* 1412 4 line 0)

Thus the chief point of difference in the regulations is that Tsou pen were not to be stamped with the memorialist's seal of office, while T'i pen were to be stamped with the seal and were to have a subject title written on them. Up to 1748 also, T'i pen were used for public affairs and Tsou pen for private affairs.

In 1748 a thorough going change was attempted. An edict of that year declared that the forms of T'i pen and Tsou pen had been taken over from the Ming "because at that time the rules and regulations had been abandoned or relaxed and the Transmission Office and the Grand Secretariat utilized the names of public (affairs) and private (affairs) in order to facilitate the extension of its grasp (of government business). In reality all are statements presented to the throne. Why is it necessary to divide them into different kinds? Let T'i pên be used in all cases where Tsou pên have been used with a view to showing administrative simplicity" (*Ch'ien-lung hui-tien tsê-li* 2 3b line 7).

This reform did not succeed, however, and Tsou pên continued to be used. In 1750 an edict specified that the action of provincial officials "in impeaching undutiful subordinate officers, whether requesting that they be deprived of rank or requesting that they resign from office, or requesting that they be degraded pending reform—all are local public affairs and are not at all matters which ought to be managed with secrecy, and it is right and proper to write a memorial and add a title to it,—which will then accord with the regulations. Recently there have been cases where the Governors-General and Governors have first prepared a memorial reporting to the Emperor in the form of a Tsou pen and have expressed themselves separately in a T'i pen impeaching (an official), this may still be considered permissible. But there are also cases constantly arising in which Cho-tsou (i.e. Tsou pen) are used in place of T'i pen, this really is not consistent with the regulations. Let circular instructions be issued to the Governors-General and Governors of the various provinces that whenever there arises an occasion for this sort of Tsou pen of impeachment, they should

(The published memorials on foreign affairs in the nineteenth century are usually Tsou pên) In practice the memorials on routine administration which came to the Grand Secretariat were, ordinarily, T'î pên, and the memorials on important matters which

use T'î pên in order to display great circumspection (*Kuang hsu hui tien shih-li* 13 7a line 9)

In 1795 because the usage regarding T'î pên and Tsou pên was still not uniform it was decided that for ordinary routine matters Tsou pên should be abolished and T'î pên should be used instead. A memorial of Aug 9 1795 stated that in the management of local affairs by the provincial Governors General and Governors, all matters which concern the receipt of a rescript or important cases involving life or robbery heterodox religions or changes in the old regulations and all important matters which concern the sufferings or distress of the people ought of course to be memorialized at the time in Tsou pên. If there are ordinary routine affairs for all of which there are recorded decisions or archives which can be consulted there is no need to present special Tsou pên and stir up trouble. But the administration of the various provinces is not yet systematized. There are cases where T'î pên are presented according to regulation but again a Tsou pên is also presented to report (the same thing). There are cases where the various provinces memorialize the Emperor by the T'î pên form and yet one or two provinces alone use Tsou pên. There are also instances where legal cases involving life or robbery have already been concluded and there are supplementary impeachments to be made in the case which can be made uniformly through T'î pên and yet memorials of impeachment are nevertheless presented in Tsou pên form. Again in the case of T'î pên (recommending) the promotion transfer or appointment of Sub prefects and Magistrates to fill a vacancy—if there are really important vacancies it was originally permitted that a special memorial (Tsou pên) be presented making the request for other ordinary vacancies of course one should follow the regulations and present T'î pên. There are times when a certain man is required at a certain place but the man's term of service is not yet complete (in such cases) there is no bar to making a clear statement in a memorial. But Governors General and Governors because of the rule regarding special recommendations abruptly go ahead and present a confusion of memorials and entreaties this should also be ordered to stop (*Kao tung shih lu* Aug 9 1795).

In this way Tsou pên appear to have survived every attempt to abolish them. Meanwhile T'î pên continued to be used but up to the later Chien lung period at least no uniformity in their use had yet been achieved.

A second attempt at reform was made in 1901 when Liu K'un 劉坤一 and Chang Chih tung 張之洞 memorialized proposing the abolition of T'î pên. T'î pên originally were the old system of the Ming. Since there were copies (Fu pên) and summaries (T'ieh luang) which had to be all copied in Sung characters there were complications and delays. Our dynasty in the Yung-cheng period issued an edict ordering that the ministers and officials should make a change and put important affairs in Che-tsou (i.e. Tsou-pên) which in simplicity speed and ease of reading far surpass T'î pên. For fifty years past there have been many cases in which the various provinces have already changed to Tsou pên. In the winter of the present year the ministers of state

came to the Grand Council were, ordinarily, Tsou-pên. We have found no statutory connection between the T'i-pên form of memorial and the Grand Secretariat, such that memorials of that type were required to go to that body. But since both came to be concerned chiefly with routine business, seasonal reports, accounts, and the like, the memorials coming to the Grand Secretariat were usually T'i-pên, and they are therefore the first thing to consider.

The chief key to what follows lies in the marked dichotomy²¹ between the treatment of routine and of important affairs, which may be roughly diagrammed for the reader's future reference as follows:

	ROUTINE AFFAIRS	IMPORTANT AFFAIRS
Memorialized in the form of T'i pen		Tsou pen
Submitted first to	Transmission Office	Chancery of Memorials
	or	
	Grand Secretariat	
First considered by	Grand Secretariat	the Emperor
Action proposed by	" "	Grand Council
Action taken in the form of Rescript or Endorsement	Edict or Rescript or Endorsement	

T'i-pên for eventual presentation to the Emperor came to the Grand Secretariat from two sources: (a) offices at the capital and (b) offices in the provinces. The offices at the capital included the

accompanying the Emperor have already memorialized requesting a temporary cessation of the use of T'i pên. Hereafter it is proposed to request a careful investigation and discussion, that the T'i pên may be forever dispensed with and change made to Tsou-pên and despatches (tzū 咨), respectively" (*Tung hua lu*, Oct 2, 1901)

SHAN Shih kuei concludes "the above-quoted memorial of CHANG Chih tung and others requesting the abolition of the T'i pên does not appear to have been carried out. Today the great storehouse of the Grand Secretariat still retains T'i pen of the year 1903, which is sufficient proof of the fact." On the other hand, the *Ch'ing shih kao* (*chih kuan chih* 2 6b line 12) states that the Transmission Office was abolished in 1902 because the transformation of T'i pên into Tsou pen had deprived it of its special function.

The reader who has read thus far will perhaps agree that the subject of T'i-pên and Tsou pên is a thorny one.

²¹ Cf. Kung Tzū-chen 龔自珍, *Shang ta hsiieh-shih shu* 上大學士書 (A letter to the Grand Secretaries), in *T'ing-an wen-chi pu-pien* 定盦文集補編 3 5 line 7, *Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition. "The Grand Council handles Edicts the Grand Secretariat handles Rescripts, the Grand Council handles Tsou pên memorials, the Grand Secretariat handles T'i pên memorials. The difference between these two bodies was clearly distinguished."

2. Routine memorials from offices at the capital (Pu-pên) were sent directly to the Grand Secretariat.

At first glance this statement might be challenged on the grounds of ancient tradition¹⁷ and of various references in the literature, where it is sometimes declared that all memorials were presented for the Emperor's inspection before they were sent to the Grand Secretariat¹⁸. All memorials were of course presented

¹⁷The traditional practice had begun to decay in the late Ming period of SUN Ch'eng tsé 孫承澤, *Ch'un-ming méng yu lu* 春明夢餘錄, Ku hsiang chai 古香齋 pocket edition, 23 28a. "The old regulation of our ancestors was that the eunuchs first set up the imperial table, then presented the official documents, and then retired outside the door; they waited until the imperial inspection was finished and then sent (the documents) to the Grand Secretariat for drafting (i piao 擬票) —this was the usual practice. But in the early years of the Lung-ch'ing period (1567-72), I do not know why, the Emperor merely took the memorials in his hands and glanced over one or two lines in a cursory fashion and there were some that he did not look at at all."

¹⁸E.g. *Chia-ch'ing hui tien shih-li* 10 3a last line, *Kuang hsu hui tien shih-li* 13 3a last line. 1660 edict as to the memorials (*pen chang*) which are presented (*tsou*) by the various metropolitan offices if they are sent down on the same day for the proposal (i.e. drafting) of a Rescript since the memorials (*pen chang*) are numerous and extremely important, it is to be feared that it will be difficult to deal with them carefully in a short time. Hereafter the memorials of the various offices and of the censors are all to be presented (*tsou*) to the Emperor every day at noon to await the Emperor's opening and inspection. On the following day they are to be sent down for the drafting of rescripts in order to facilitate careful examination, endorsement, and sending down. Memorials (*pen-chang*) of all sorts which are sealed up by the Transmission Office have first been sent to the Grand Secretariat to be read and presented. Hereafter let the said office itself proceed to seal them up and present them to the Emperor. After the Emperor has seen them they will be sent down and read. If there are secret memorials (*mi pen*), again let the said office seal them up and present them no matter what the time may be. The various Boards should be informed in a transmitted edict so that each may act accordingly."

It will be seen that the reference to types of memorials here are ambiguous and confusing. *pen chang* being generally a generic term for memorials of all kinds. In the following passage however, the all important distinction between *T'i pen* and *Tsou pen* is more clearly brought out (*Chia ch'ing hui tien shih-li* 10 3a line 5). '1656 edict heretofore the memorials (*tsou-che*) of the Censors and of the various Manchu and Chinese officials at the capital all have first been sent to the Grand Secretariat, hereafter all should follow the example of the Boards and go direct to the palace for presentation. The *T'i pen* which are sent from the provinces to the Transmission Office and the memorials (*pen-chang*) of the various officials at the capital should still as heretofore, be sent to the Transmission Office for it to send in turn to the Grand Secretariat.' This was, of course, before the creation of the Grand Council.

to the Emperor at some point; the question here is whether T'i-pên from the capital (i. e. Pu-pên), as distinct from Tsou-pên, were presented to the Emperor first of all, rather than later in the procedure. The *Collected Statutes* seem to leave little doubt that Pu-pên were sent first to the Grand Secretariat instead of to the Emperor.¹⁹ In view of the immense number of these documents and of the fact that they concerned routine business, this would seem to have been the only practical procedure. (As will be noted below in section 3, important memorials, i. e. Tsou-pên, went first to the Emperor.)

3. On arrival at the Grand Secretariat, routine memorials (T'i-pên) of both types (T'ung-pên and Pu-pên) were again examined for irregularities of form and were prepared for reading

Thus if T'ung-pên arrived from the provinces written in Chinese only, as was no doubt usually the case, a copy of the summary was required to be prepared in Manchu.²⁰ A duplicate copy of the entire memorial (Fu-pên) was also made.²¹

4. At the Grand Secretariat the T'i-pên were read first by the minor officers of the Secretariat, who proposed what action should be taken upon them.

These minor officers of the Secretariat totalled in the nineteenth century nearly 250 men, of whom a good deal more than half were

¹⁹ See, e. g., the passage just quoted, note 18

²⁰ *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2 6a " (Pu pên and T'ung pen) first arrive at the Grand Secretariat when T'ung pên arrive at the Secretariat, if they are not written in both Manchu and Chinese, the Chinese Copying Office translates the attached summary (Tieh huang) and the Manchu Copying Office copies it in Manchu characters and it is sent to the Registry (Piao Ch'ien Ch'u) " Cf. *op cit* 2 17b in the Manchu Copying Office there were 39 Manchu Secretaries and 24 Manchu copyists (Tieh hsieh chung-shu 貼寫中書), *op cit* 2 18b the Chinese Copying Office had charge of the receiving and forwarding of T'ung pen and its chief officers—two Manchu and two Chinese Readers with assistants—decided whether the time limit for this operation should be long or short, thus for all matters concerning promotion, demotion departure from a post, or dismissal the Office set a time limit beyond which the work of translating and forwarding must not be delayed. The Secretaries of the Office—31 Manchus, 8 Chinese bannermen and 16 Manchu copyists—had charge of the translation of memorials into Manchu

²¹ See section 5 below, Fu pen

Six Boards (Liu Pu 六部) and the various subordinate Courts, Departments, and Superintendencies, T'ü-pên from these sources were called Pu-pên 部本. The offices in the provinces included those of Governors General (Viceroys), Governors, Generals in-chief (Tartar Generals), and the like, T'ü-pên from these sources came through the postal service¹² and the Transmission Office (T'ung Chêng Ssü 通政司) and were called T'ung pên 通本. An analysis of procedure must begin with the arrival of T'ung-pên from the provinces

1 Routine memorials from the provinces (T'ung-pên) were delivered by the official post to the Transmission Office (T'ung Cheng Ssü), where they were first examined as to form and then, ordinarily, transmitted to the Grand Secretariat

In form the memorial must comply with the regulations as to the number of lines and characters per page and as to the honorary elevation of certain characters, it must bear the writer's title and name at the beginning and the date of its despatch at the end, it should be stamped with the writer's seal of office, and a summary of its contents on a separate slip of paper (t'ieh huang) should be attached at the end¹³ If such a summary were missing, it should be supplied by the Transmission Office¹⁴ If the memorial were in improper form, in any one of several respects, it might either be rejected and sent back to the sender or sent to the Grand Secretariat to secure an imperial decision regarding it

Thus the power of the Transmission Office, although much less extensive than under the Ming,¹⁵ was still considerable. As the

¹² Regarding the postal service for the transmission of documents to the capital see our article cited in note 2 above

¹³ Summarized from *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 51 13a

¹⁴ Decreed in 1611 cf. *K'ang-hsi hui-tien* 148 1b last line *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* shih-shi 781 2

¹⁵ The Transmission Office in the Ming period attained great power because all memorials intended for the Emperor had first to be opened and passed by it. Indeed memorials on important matters had to be stamped and recorded by the Office before presentation to the throne so that it became the chief means of communication (the "throat and tongue") of the Emperor. This led to malpractices and eventual reform. Under the Ch'ing the power of the Transmission Office was cut down and it was arranged that secret memorials (feng-shih 封事) presented at the palace gate should

first office at the capital to read T'i-pên from the provinces, it held a strategic position, with power to return a memorial unaccepted, to impeach the memorialist, and at times even to interpret the content of a memorial in making a summary of it. Only the secret memorials of officials in office were exempt from this scrutiny, and since the memorials here in question concerned routine business it is unlikely that many of them were secret. On the other hand, various measures were taken during the course of the Ch'ing period further to restrict the power of the Transmission Office.¹⁶ As will be noted below, the Grand Council was set up in 1729 partly for this purpose.

Here it should be noted that when a T'i-pên was first presented one or more duplicate copies were presented with it. Other copies might subsequently be made. Since these duplicates do not concern the main steps in procedure, they are discussed chiefly in section 5 below; see under Chieh-t'ieh, Fu-pên.

be transmitted to the throne directly by the Chancery of Memorials to the Emperor (Tsou Shih Ch'ü 奏事處), T'i pên from offices at the capital should be sent directly to the Grand Secretariat, and only T'i pen from officials in the provinces should be sent first to the Transmission Office (*Li tai chih kuan piao* 歷代職官表 [Table of Offices and Officials of Successive Dynasties] *Ssu pu pei-yao* 四部備要 edition 21 17b, cf also *Huang ch'ao wen hsien t'ung k'ao* 皇朝文獻通考 [Chekiang Press ed 1882] 82 11b-15) The regulations were of course by no means as simple as this summary would indicate. Thus an edict of 1615 provided that all Tsou pen from offices at the capital should be presented through the Transmission Office (*Kuang hau hui tien* 148 1b, *Ch'ien-lung hui tien tsê li* 151 1a), an inconsistency explainable on the ground of its early date.

¹⁶ The manifold regulations on this subject deserve summation in a separate article. Thus in 1692 an edict was issued that, "except for the secret memorials of officials in office, which should be sealed and presented to the Emperor as usual the secret memorials of discarded and unemployed officials and of irresponsible shysters should first be examined by the Transmission Office, those that ought to be sealed they will seal up for presentation to the Emperor and those that ought not to be sealed they will strictly rebuke and return unaccepted" (*Iung cheng hui tien* 225 3b line 4). But an edict of 1708 provided that, because the Transmission Office refused to accept so many memorials on account of improper form, thus delaying the conduct of business it should therefore be ordered to report at the end of each month how many memorials had been rejected and their subjects (*op cit* 225 2b line 6). In 1724 it was ordered that memorials should no longer be rejected and returned (*Chia-ch'ing hui-tien shih-ti* 781 2). In 1738 however, there was a return to the system preceding 1724 (*ibid*).

Manchus, as may be seen by reference to the subjoined table.²² It was one of their functions to suggest in the first instance what the imperial decision should eventually be. For each memorial they wrote on a slip of paper a draft²³ of an imperial Endorsement or Rescript. A draft Endorsement, for example, might order the matter in question to be referred to a Board for further deliberation, or it might be no more than the laconic and recurrent "noted" (chih-tao-liao 知道了). For all routine decisions there was of course an established phraseology.²⁴ In appropriate cases

²² The personnel listed in the *Collected Statutes* may be summarized as follows

	Manchus	Chinese	Chin Bannermen	Mongols
<i>K'ang hsi hui-tien</i> 2 1b	98	40	23	23
total 184				
<i>Yung ch'eng hui-tien</i> 2 1b	id			
<i>Ch'ien lung hui-tien</i> 1 1	95	43	12	20
total 170				
<i>Chia ch'ing hui-tien</i> 2 passim	164	46	14	28
total 252				

Kuang hsu hui-tien 2 passim id

The offices listed included Grand Secretaries (usually 4), Assistant Grand Secretaries (2 or 4), these two categories not being listed before the Ch'ien lung period, Sub-Chancellors (usually 10), Readers (usually 8), Assistant Readers (usually 15), Archivists (usually 6), Secretaries (143, then 124, then 204). It will be seen that the personnel was increased in the nineteenth century chiefly by the addition of Manchu Secretaries. Secretaries, of course merely assisted in drafting proposals.

²³ The phrases i-ch'ien 擬籤 and p'iao-i 票擬 may be translated "to write a proposal" in western parlance "to draft", the regulations do not use the term kao 考, the usual word for a rough draft or preliminary copy.

²⁴ *Chia ch'ing hui-tien* 2 6b "As to the form of the draft label whenever the contents of T'ung pên ought to be discussed and replied to then they are given to the various Boards and departments at the capital, which are to 'deliberate and memorialize,' or 'investigate and deliberate,' or 'examine judicially and deliberate,' or 'deliberate and decide punishment,' or 'deliberate with great care,' or 'deliberate with haste.' When there is no need of deliberation and reply, then they are given to the various boards for their information." Cf SHAN Shih k'uei 183 "For the phraseology of the draft proposals there were established forms. Thus in the case of T'ung-pên it would be, 'Let the said Board be informed' (kai pu chih tao 該部知道), 'Let the Board of Civil Office be informed' 'Let the Board of War be informed' 'Let the Three High Courts of Judicature (San Fa S'ui) be informed' and so on. If when a memorial was presented to the throne it was accompanied by a volume of documents or the like (ta c), then the draft proposal would be 'Let the said Board be informed and also send the volume,' or 'Let the volume be retained for inspection,' and so on.

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two, three, or even four such phrases might be suggested, each one drafted on a separate slip according to certain regulations, and both or all presented at the same time as alternatives for the imperial choice.²³ In such cases, or even when a single draft was presented, a special note might be added to explain the basis on which the proposals had been made.²⁴ All drafts were written in both Chinese and Manchu and the two writers of the draft signed it on the back. The slip of paper bearing the draft, about four by seven inches in size, was then attached to the original memorial.²⁵ The readers also dealt with the maps, lists, accounts, bound volumes, and other enclosures that might accompany a memorial (see below, sec. 5: Huang-ts'ê), determining whether according to

If it were a Pu pen, then it would be 'Let it be as recommended' (11 依議), 'Noted,' 'According to the proposal that he ought to be strangled, let him be held in prison until the autumn assizes are concluded and then be sentenced, for the rest, let it be as recommended' and so on. Of the several hundred thousand T'ien-pen with red endorsements preserved today from the Ch'ing period, the great part are of this sort. Other expressions commonly used by the Emperor in making endorsements included "Seen" (an 見) "Let the Nine Chief Ministries of State speedily deliberate and memorialize" (chiu-ch'ing su: chü tsou 九卿速議具奏), "The content of the memorial is thoroughly comprehended" (so-tsou chü hsi 所奏俱悉). Any of these notations might of course be followed by remarks ad hoc.

²³ *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2 7a. "When there are two proposals, a pair of slips is written out as to the form of a pair of slips, whenever the various Boards present T'ien-pen requesting certain things, there are cases where (the officers of the Secretariat) do not dare to suit their own convenience as to whether permission ought to be given or refused, or where there is deliberation as to merit or guilt or rewards or honors and the decision may be light or severe, or where punishments (of officials for administrative errors) ought to be deliberated upon or ought to be remitted, or where alternative requests are made in the memorial to await an imperial decision in all such cases a pair of slips is written out according to the draft." Cases of three slips or four slips were treated similarly.

²⁴ Cf. *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2 8a.

²⁵ SHAN Shih k'uei describes a proposal slip as being smaller than the page of a T'ien-pen, a bit over seven inches from top to bottom and a bit over four inches wide the Manchu writing on the left and the Chinese on the right. The Assistant Readers and Secretaries who wrote the proposal slips signed their names on the reverse, the Manchu and the Chinese in the right and left corners, respectively. Slips of this kind are still preserved in the Palace including some volumes of model forms to be used on T'ung-pen and Pu-pen, e.g. "For T'ung pen with a single slip. We have read the minister's memorial of thanks, Seen. Let the said Board be informed, for Pu pen with a single slip. Let the Palace examination be held on — day, Let it be as recommended."

the regulations they should be submitted to the Emperor along with the memorial.²⁸

It is evident that this drafting by the minor officers of the Secretariat was conventional in nature and involved questions of mere procedure rather than of policy. In any case the decisions of these men were reviewed by their superiors

5. The drafts of Endorsements and Rescripts, together with the original memorials concerned, were then seen and passed upon by the Grand Secretaries (Ta Hsueh Shih 大學士)

There were usually four of these officials, two Manchus and two Chinese, plus two Assistant Grand Secretaries, one Manchu and one Chinese. We lack evidence as to whether, the institution of prime minister having been abolished, one of these half dozen high officials might make important decisions representing them all; *no doubt the pressure of business would sometimes require it*, in which case the ya-pan 押班 or head secretary on duty may perhaps have taken the decision.²⁹

Every draft was approved, rejected, or changed by the Grand Secretaries.³⁰ It was then sent to the Manchu and Chinese Regis-

²⁸ *Chia ch'ing hui tien* 2 6b 'If there are maps or volumes, reports on river works and all sorts of official construction regularly ought to be written up with both maps and bound volumes (of reports), to accompany the memorial when it is submitted to the Emperor. Reports on the taxes and crops of any place, and memorials from the court assize and the autumn assize, all are written in volumes [Similarly for the examination records]. If there is a list if the memorial contains a list which regularly ought to be presented to the Emperor, such as lists of names, lists of vacancies, records of officials' careers, or lists of sacrifices—having been examined as to whether they ought to be retained or ought to be sent on, all are differentiated and proposals made regarding them in the proposal slip. Those which are not covered in the regulations as to whether they ought to be retained or sent are not mentioned in the proposal slip."

²⁹ Cf. Wu Ao 吳鑒, *Nei ko chih* 內閣志 (An account of the Grand Secretariat) 2b line 7, in *Chieh yüeh-shan fang hui-ch'ao* 借月山房彙抄 3. According to the state statutes there is a ya pan, (the post) is assigned to a Manchu Grand Secretary the order of precedence of the others (is decided by) asking the imperial will to settle it. "A good deal of the office routine of the Secretariat is described in this work."

³⁰ This system had begun in the Ming period. According to *Li tai chih kuan yao* 4 12b 13a the Grand Secretaries were first commanded in the Hsüan t'ê period (1426-35) to prepare drafts of rescripts and attach them to memorials that were to be presented. An edict of 1639 stated that the Secretariat had originally been established to save the Emperor's time and the Grand Secretaries had therefore been ordered to draft rescripts

tries (P'iao Ch'ien Ch'u 票籤 [or 處籤]) of the Grand Secretariat, where it was copied out in Manchu and Chinese on a formal double slip.²¹ It was then ready to be presented to the Emperor along with the memorial concerned.

6. On the following day at dawn the memorial (T'i-pên) was presented to the Emperor by the Grand Secretaries in audience, and the draft of the Endorsement or Rescript was subsequently approved, or changed, or if there were more than one, selected; or a separate Edict was issued to deal with the matter.²²

7. The imperial decision having thus been made, the memorial was endorsed (see below, sec. 5: P'i) accordingly.

In the case of T'i-pên this was seldom done by the Emperor's own hand. Rather, the memorial and the approved form of Endorsement were sent to the Office for Copying the Emperor's Endorsements (P'i Pên Ch'u 批本處), where a staff of Manchu

for the Emperor's final decision (*Chia-ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 11 7a line 6) For the Ch'ing regulations cf *K'ang hsi hui-tien* 2 7, *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien* 2 2b, *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien tsé-li* 2 8

²¹ *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2 6b line 6 "Drafts are made and then copied on slips every day the Tung pên and Pu pên that ought to be submitted to the Emperor are carefully looked over and checked by the Assistant Readers and others, who write out draft proposal slips After the Grand Secretaries have seen and decided upon these slips, they order the Secretaries of the Registries to copy them out in Manchu and Chinese on a formal double slip (ho-pi chêng-ch'ien 合璧正籤) On the following day at dawn they are respectfully transmitted to the Emperor" (We have taken ch'ien 籤 [in *Kuang hsi hui-tien* 籤] in its most literal meaning as a slip of paper, which fits the context of the statutes) *Op cit* 2 19b line 7 "Every day, for the Tung pên and Pu pên, slips are rough-drafted by the Chinese Assistant Readers and their colleagues and sent to the Manchu Registry The Assistant Readers and others (of the Registry) carefully compare the Manchu text and examine the slip to see whether it is in proper form They rough-draft a slip in Manchu They submit the duplicate copy (of the memorial) to the Grand Secretaries at the Grand Council 以副本呈軍機處大學士 and they submit the original copy to the Grand Secretaries at the Secretariat, who examine it and decide upon the draft Thereupon the formal slip is copied out All memorials presented to the Emperor are differentiated as to whether they are urgent or not urgent, important or not important They are reverently stored in a box, which is labelled accordingly Cf also *op cit* 2 20a for the duties of the Chinese Registry

²² Cf *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2 8a The Emperor might reserve some memorials (chên-pên, see under sec 5) for further consideration, this step in procedure is discussed below, sec 3

secretaries copied the Endorsement in Manchu onto the memorial in red ink. The Endorsement in Chinese was copied on in red ink by the minor officers of the Grand Secretariat after the memorial had been returned to that body.³³ Both these Endorsements in red ink were called P'i-hung 批紅 (endorsed in red) to distinguish them from Chu-p'i 硃 (vermilion endorsements) or Yu-p'i 御 (imperial endorsements), which were sometimes written on documents by the Emperor's own hand. Memorials endorsed in red ink (P'i-hung) were given the name Hung-pên 紅本 (red memorials) and also called P'i-pên (endorsed memorials)³⁴ The imperial Endorsements were also copied onto the duplicates (Fu-pên) of the original memorials, already mentioned, but in this case the Endorsement was copied on in plain black ink. The duplicates were supposed to be stored in the Office of Imperial Historiography (Huang Shih Ch'êng 皇史宬).³⁵

8. Within two days after its presentation, a memorial was required to be sent down from the imperial presence and action taken accordingly.³⁶

³³ *Op cit* 2 23a line 7 "After memorials have been presented to the Emperor and sent back down again, the Office for Copying Imperial Endorsements, copying the slip of Manchu writing decided upon by the Emperor and using red ink, writes the endorsement on the face of the memorial" *Op cit* 2 17b line 3 "After the memorials have been handed down and received the Chinese Sub Chancellors (of the Grand Secretariat), copying the slip of Chinese writing decided upon by the Emperor, and using red ink, write the endorsement on the face of the memorial"

³⁴ Cf SHAN Shih k'uei 185

³⁵ Cf *id* 188 SHAN quotes several sources to show that the duplicates were required to be stored in the Huang Shih Ch'êng including an eye witness of the Ch'ien lung period who saw them there piled as high as a mountain, SHAN adduces evidence that most of them must have been burned in 1899 to get rid of them—at least very few have been found

³⁶ *Chia ch'ing hui-tien* 2 8b line 9 "All memorials that have been presented (to the Emperor) are sent down at the end of two days those that ought to be sent down immediately are not to take more than one day after a memorial which has been submitted has received a rescript, it is sent down to the Office for Copying the Emperor's Endorsements On the following day the Office writes on the endorsements and on the day after that (the memorial) is handed down to the Grand Secretariat In case it is an important matter and the rescript is received that it is to be handed down with haste it is immediately handed down to the Grand Secretariat on the same day that the memorial is (first) presented"

The original memorial (T'i-pên) was archived. Now endorsed in red, it was handed over to the Office for Receiving and Forwarding Red Memorials (Shou Fa Hung Pên Ch'u 收發紅本處), through which it was placed in the safekeeping of the Six Sections (Liu K'o 六科) of the Office for Scrutiny of Metropolitan Officials (Chi Shih Chung Ya Mên 給事中衙門), a part of the Censorate. At the end of every year all original memorials were required to be returned from this division of the Censorate and were stored by the Office for . . . Red Memorials.³⁷

After notice had been given them by the Six Sections, copies of the original memorial were made by the offices of government concerned. Thus the imperial will was made known.³⁸

9. If an Edict, instead of an Endorsement or a Rescript, were issued as a result of the presentation of a T'i-pên through the Grand Secretariat, then the Grand Council would usually be involved in the drafting. It is of course unlikely that many T'i-pên would call for an Edict in reply. In any case, since the activity of the Grand Secretariat in connection with the drafting of Edicts appears to have been in practice subordinate to that of the Grand Council, it will be considered below, section 3.

Under normal conditions, if we may trust the *Collected Statutes*, the procedure summarized above would have occupied about four days, from the time when the T'i-pên was first read until the time when the imperial Endorsement or Rescript had been formally copied onto it and further action could be taken accordingly. If necessary, the Emperor's decision could be returned to the Grand Secretariat on the same day that a memorial was presented.

By way of comment it may be pointed out that there was an ample arrangement in this procedure for checks and balances. Each draft Endorsement or Rescript was written out in both Manchu and Chinese, by secretaries who signed their names, and was then copied by another secretariat after the Grand Secretaries

³⁷ Cf. *op. cit.* 2 21b line 8

³⁸ *Op. cit.* 2 8a line 6 "After the endorsement has been written on in Manchu and Chinese, (a memorial) is a Hung pên Junior Metropolitan Censors from the Six Sections go to the Grand Secretariat and respectfully receive it, and subsequently give notice that it may be copied to the various yamen concerned"

had approved it. Similarly, following the imperial approval, the Manchu and Chinese versions of the Endorsement or Rescript were written onto the memorial in red ink by two separate offices. The likelihood of ill-considered drafting or of incorrect recording of decisions was thereby reduced. The announcement of the imperial will was hedged about with equal precautions. The imperial decision in each case could be copied by the other organs of government only after it had been received by the Censorate (the Six Sections, to be exact), although the decision had been originally suggested by the Grand Secretariat. The original document was then retained for the rest of the year by the officers of the Censorate while the Grand Secretariat itself retained only a copy. Certainly there was little opportunity for changes in the text of an imperial decision once it had been made. This ensured accuracy. But it must also have put a premium on the use of time-worn phraseology and the purely automatic treatment of official business. Minor secretaries were not likely to attempt innovations, and yet the initiative rested largely with them. From the point of view of an archivist, on the other hand, no more admirable system has ever been devised, and historians may well be grateful, even when they become lost in the profusion of records and copies.

3. PROCEDURE IN THE GRAND COUNCIL (CHUN CHI CH'U)

The Grand Council (lit. Military Plans Office, also called Privy Council or Council of State) was a smaller, more informal, and much more powerful body than the Grand Secretariat. In its first form the Council was established during the Yung-chêng reign in 1729⁵⁹ to deal secretly with imperial military strategy, the most

⁵⁹ Various dates have been assigned for the creation of the Grand Council, probably because that body went through several reorganizations in its early years (e.g. MAYERS 18—1730, *Ch'ing shih kao*, *chih-kuan chih* 1 4a—1732, *Kuang hsu hui-tien shih-li* 1051 10, in memorial of 1783—1730, Hsien Pao-chao 77—1730). However, the *Shih-lu* (cf. CHANG Tê-tsê 57 quoting *Shih-tsung shih-lu* 世宗 82 6a) and *Ch'ing shih kao* (56, *Chun-chi ta-ch'ên nien-piao* 軍機大臣年表 [Chronological Table of Grand Counsellors] 1) agree on the sixth month of 1729 as the date for the establishment of the Chun Chi Fang 軍機房. From this event the early evolution of the Grand Council may be traced as follows (op. cit. 18).

obvious cause of its creation being the contemporary campaigns in the Northwest. Further research is likely to show, however, that the Council filled a need long felt, for it is apparent that the early Ch'ing emperors had come to require the help of a compact, carefully selected, and rather unceremonious body to assist in their personal rule. The Grand Secretariat, having been the apex of the bureaucratic pyramid for generations past, could not serve this purpose. Accordingly the K'ang-hsi Emperor had made use of Fu Chêng Ta Ch'ên 輔政大臣 (assistant administrators) and later of the officials in the Nan Shu Fang 南書房 (south library) to assist him in dealing with important business. Similarly the Yung-chêng Emperor had set up an I Chêng Ch'u 議政處 (office for administrative deliberations) and drawn its personnel from the Grand Secretaries and Presidents of Boards. Later came the Grand Council, which thus appears to have been the final solution of a long-standing problem.⁴⁰

We have already noted that the creation of the Council roughly coincided with the establishment of certain regulations concern-

1729 July 5—appointment of the Imperial Prince of I, Yun hsiang 怡親王允祥, together with CHANG Ting yü 張廷玉 and CHIANG Ting hsi 蔣廷錫 as a board of three for the secret management of necessary military affairs

1732 third month—the title of Chun Chi Fang was changed to Pan Li Chun Chi Ch'u 辦理.

1735—the duties of the latter office were taken over by the Tsung Li Shih Wu Ch'u 總理事務處

1738 Jan. 17—the Pan Li Chun Chi Ch'u was restored

1741—it began to be referred to simply as the Chun Chi Ch'u

⁴⁰ The most informative modern studies of the Grand Council are those by TENG Chih-ch'eng and CHANG Te-tsê (see note 7 above). The origin of the Council is also attributed to the fact that the offices of the Grand Secretariat were inconveniently located at some distance from the Emperor's apartments. The Secretariat was just inside the front gate of the Palace on the east, thus it was outside the first inner gate (T'ai-ho Mén 太和門) on the axis leading back through the main halls of the Palace complex. On the other hand the Nan Shu Fang was just west of the Ch'ien-ch'ing Men 乾清門, more than halfway along the main axis, and the Lung tsung Men 隆宗門 where the Grand Council had its offices, was on the western side of the same great court which led to the Ch'ien-ch'ing Men on the north.—i.e. the Grand Council was located in the very heart of the Forbidden City, close to the Emperor Cf CHAO I 趙翼, Yen-pao tsu-chi 簞曝雜記 (Miscellaneous Notes) I 1a, in his Ou pei ch'uan-chi 甌北全集 (Complete Works of Ou pei [= CHAO I]), 1877

ing the use of T'i-pên (memorials on routine public affairs bearing the memorialist's seal of office) and Tsou-pên (memorials on important or personal affairs and not bearing the memorialist's seal of office, see note 10 above). The latter form of memorial, as officials themselves testified, was simpler and more expeditious; it came to be used generally for communications to the Emperor passing through the Grand Council. It is evident that important political factors must have underlain these administrative changes, —both the Council and the Tsou-pên were tools making for greater efficiency, greater secrecy, and more freedom from bureaucratic impedimenta.

The power of the Council derived partly from its very informality. It was not given a separate section in the *Collected Statutes* until the Chia-ch'ing edition of 1818. The number of Grand Councillors was never fixed. Usually there were five or six, but the number ranged between extremes of three and twelve.⁴¹ They could be selected from among the Grand Secretaries and the Presidents and Vice-presidents of Boards, as well as from among the Secretaries of the Grand Council itself (Chun Chi Chang-ching 平機章京, also called Hsiao Chun Chi 小). This arrangement was most important, for it made it possible to select carefully the really influential, or otherwise desirable, ministers, sidestepping the thorny problem of promotions from the bureaucratic hierarchy. Thus one or more of the Councillors (until after 1862) was always a Grand Secretary as well, and so formed a direct link between the two bodies. Statistics indicating the degree to which the Council and the Secretariat were merged together, through their common personnel, are given below.⁴² In a similar

⁴¹ Between 1729 and 1911 there were 47 years in which the number of Councillors was five, 48 years in which it was six, and 31 years in which it was 7, cf. *Ch'ing shih kao*, *Chun-chi ta-ch'ên nien-piao*.

⁴² The tables just mentioned and *Ch'ing shih kao*, *Ta hseih-shih nien-piao* (Chronological Table of Grand Secretaries) give the names of the members of each body in each year. A simple addition of these lists of names, counting each name once each time it appears, gives a total of approximately 1140 names of Grand Councillors listed in the period 1729-1911, and approximately 1310 names of Grand Secretaries in the same period, a comparison of the two lists year by year gives the following results: years in which only one official was concurrently a Grand Councillor and a Grand Secretary—22,

manner, during the existence of the Tsung Li Ya-mên (for the management of foreign affairs) from 1860 to 1901 there were eighteen men who held office in both that body and the Council.⁴³

A natural characteristic of this central organ of administration was the secrecy which surrounded its activities. Minor clerks were dispensed with and the clerical drudgery required for the handling of all important documents was borne by the Secretaries themselves, documents of less importance being sent to the Military Archives Office and elsewhere for routine treatment. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the number of Secretaries was fixed at 32, half Manchu and half Chinese, to be selected from the staffs of such bodies as the Grand Secretariat, the Six Boards, and the Court of Colonial Affairs, they had to be recommended by their superiors and were granted an audience with the Emperor. After 1860 four Manchu and four Chinese Secretaries were assigned to work in the Tsung Li Ya-mên. Thus the relatively small number of the Council's Secretaries, carefully selected and guaranteed as they were, made the Council staff a very compact body, quite closed to the uninitiated. Officials entering its service at first had to be instructed in the office routine.⁴⁴

years in which 2 officials were in both bodies—78,

years in which 3 officials were in both bodies—41,

average number of officials in both bodies each year (1729 1911)—2.35

In other words a little less than half of the personnel of the Council were, on the average, Grand Secretaries. It is noteworthy that during the Tung-chih period (1862 74) there were only three years in which one official was in both bodies, in the other years of that period the two bodies had no personnel in common.

⁴³ CHANG Te-tse 61 lists them as follows: Prince Kung 恭 (I hsin 奕訢), Wên-hsiang 文祥, Kuei-lang 桂良, Pao-yun 寶鋆, Shen Kuei-fen 沈桂芬, Li Hung-tso 李鴻藻, Chung-lin 景廉, Wang Wen-shao 王文韶, Tso Tsung-t'ang 左宗棠, Yen Ching-ming 閔敬銘, Hsu Keng-shên 許庚身, Sun Yu-wên 孫毓文, Hsu Yung 徐用儀, Weng Tung-ho 翁同龢, Liao Shou-heng 廖壽恆, Yu-lu 裕祿, Chao Shu-ch'iao 趙舒翹, Ch'ü-hsiu 啓秀. It will be seen that these men represented loyalty as much as ability. The Manchu methods of preserving control in the central government are beyond the scope of this paper; Hsien Pao-chao op cit 81, gives some very interesting figures on the proportion of Manchus (a majority on the average) in the Grand Council.

⁴⁴ Cf. LIANG Chang-chu 梁章鉅, *Shu guan chi-lueh* 樞垣記略 (Brief Notes on the Central Administration) author's preface dated 1823 revised by Prince Kung, I hsin, who extended it to the Kuang-hsü period, adding 12 chuan to make a total of

This secrecy and compactness accorded with the fact that the volume of important business was relatively small, seldom amounting to more than fifty or sixty memorials a day.⁴³ In short, the Grand Council was in many respects a sort of imperial private secretariat, as exemplified in the fact that the Councillors followed the Emperor wherever he might go and had special apartments at Jehol or Yuan Ming Yuan.⁴⁴ As a result, the procedure of the Council is much less fully described in the statutes than is that of the Grand Secretariat, and can be summarized only approximately.

1. Tsou-pên (important memorials) from the provinces were

28, chüan 22 4a line 0 (the Council) for the purpose of secrecy has only (high) officials (kuan 官) and no minor officers (li 吏). Aside from the memorials which are issued for copying every day and handed over to the writers of the Military Archives Office to be transcribed—all documents received or to be issued, archives to be registered and items regarding which a rescript has been received and which are ordered to be sealed and deposited—are taken care of by the Secretaries (chang-chung) in person. The regulations and names (of documents) are handed down from the senior officials. Even for capable officials of other departments and bureaus, when they first enter the Council there are things that they do not understand." *Id* ch 15 19 lists 109 Councillors and some 750 Secretaries up to 1875. For the regulations regarding the Secretaries, cf *Chia-ch'ing hui tien* 3 11b.

⁴³ Cf *T'ung Chih-ch'eng* 107. Even this figure is probably high for the earlier part of the nineteenth century, if we consider that within the eighteen provinces there were only 18 Governors, 10 Governors General and 8 Generals-in-chief, two important memorials a week from each such official, not a low average perhaps would produce only ten memorials a day for the consideration of the Emperor and the Council. The diary of the Grand Councillor Weng Tung ho (*W'eng wên-chung kung jih-chi* 翁文忠公日記, 40 vols. Shanghai 1928 21 84b-101 et passim) in the busy years 1892-3 records some days on which the diarist drafted none or only one document others on which he dealt with half a dozen edicts publicly issued (ming fa 明發) and one or two court letters (tsü-chi 字寄, see under sec 5 below), other days on which he (and his colleagues?) dealt with 15 documents in audience with the Emperor. A total of more than 50 endorsements to handle in one day is especially remarked upon, so also a total of 70 memorials received from the provinces (wai che 外摺) in one day.

⁴⁴ Cf *Chia-ch'ing hui tien* 3 1b. The sub-offices of the Council listed in *id* 3 12a 16b included (1) the Military Archives Office (Fang Lüeh Kuan 方略館), (2) the Manchu Chinese Translation Office (Nei Fan Shu Fang 內繙書房), (3) the Chancery for the Inspection of Imperial Edicts (Chi Cha Chün Feng Shang Yu Shih Chien Chu BRUNNERT 105a. Publication cannot be justified) (4) the Imperial Patent Office (Chung Shu K'o 中書科). BRUNNERT assigns all but the third of these to the Grand Secretariat: it is true that their staffs were partly derived from the Secretariat but they are listed in the statutes under the Grand Council with which their work was closely associated as noted below.

delivered at the capital to an office at the Palace called the Chancery of Memorials to the Emperor (Tsou Shih Ch'ü 奏事處).

This Chancery of Memorials thus occupied in relation to Tsou-pên a position comparable to that of the Transmission Office (T'ung Chêng Ssü) in relation to T'ü-pên; but there is no evidence that it ever exercised comparable power. It had a small staff headed by an Imperial Bodyguard, a high official specially selected from the Guards within the Palace, who was assisted by six Secretaries (chang-ching) selected and guaranteed from other offices; there were also two Clerks.⁴⁷ Tsou-pên from the provinces, delivered by courier,⁴⁸ were marked on the outside "official despatch (kung-wên) to the Chancery of Memorials," and were received by the Clerks of the Chancery at whatever time they arrived. They were then handed to the Secretaries, who in turn handed them to the Chancery eunuchs for presentation, the latter being of course in a position to convey them to the Emperor's private apartments. Officials below a certain rank were not normally allowed to present Tsou-pên.⁴⁹ Other than this regulation, there is no indication in the statutes that the Chancery officials could emulate those of the Transmission Office in the manipulation of red tape for ulterior ends.

2. Tsou-pên from officials at the capital were likewise delivered to the Chancery of Memorials to the Emperor.

Every morning at dawn the Secretaries of the Chancery were required to receive memorials at the Palace gate. Memorialists who were presenting personal memorials were required to present them in person; this applied to Presidents of Boards and all others at the capital except princes and men over sixty (sui). The memorials so received were then handed to the Chancery eunuchs for presentation to the Emperor.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ There were also Chancery eunuchs (Tsou-shih t'ai-chien 奏事太監) not described in detail in the statutes, and in addition to the staff which handled memorials (Tsou-pên) in Chinese and Manchu, there was another smaller one for Mongolian correspondence. There were of course detailed regulations regarding the handling of Tsou-pên from the capital, in yellow boxes, those that were secret were specially sealed between boards, cf. *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 65 9b-12b.

⁴⁸ Cf. our article in *IJAS* 4 37. ⁴⁹ Cf. regulations in *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 65 10a, b.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* The statutes do not support BAUVERT 105 in the statement that "Metropolitan establishments present their memorials to the Grand Council direct."

3. Tsou-pên were presented from the Chancery of Memorials directly to the Emperor.

It need hardly be added that this would have significance only in proportion as the Emperor really desired to rule as well as reign; but the evidence indicates that the Manchu emperors invariably desired to do so.⁵¹ Their early morning examination of memorials was no mere formality. On the contrary, the Chia-ch'ing Emperor forbade the practice of sending duplicates of Tsou-pên to the Grand Council.⁵² There is a good deal of evidence to show that the Emperor usually saw important memorials before they were seen by his chief ministers.⁵³

⁵¹ Cf CHAO I's account (*op cit* 1 7a line 1) of the Ch'ien lung Emperor's activity "Ten or more of my comrades (in the Council) would take turns every five or six days on early morning duty and even so would feel fatigued. How did the Emperor do it day after day? Yet this was even in ordinary times when there was no (important) business. When there was fighting on the western border and military reports arrived, even at midnight he must still see them in person and would be inclined to summon the Grand Councillors and give instructions as to the proper strategy, using a hundred to a thousand words. I would draw up the draft at the time, from the first rough draft to the presentation of the formal version it might take one to two hours, and the Emperor, having thrown on some clothes, would still be waiting."

⁵² One of the charges against Ho-shen who usurped great power in the later years of the Ch'ien lung period was that he had improperly instructed the provincial authorities to make an extra copy of their memorials and send it to the Grand Council at the same time that the original was sent in for the Emperor. By the Chia-ch'ing Emperor the practice was vigorously denounced and prohibited for all time, an edict of Feb 12, 1799, declared that all persons entitled to present Tsou pen thereafter ought to present them "directly to the Throne and it is not to be permitted that they send duplicates in addition to the Grand Council, the high civil and military officials of the various offices at the capital also shall not previously inform the Grand Councillors of the matters which they are presenting in Tsou pen, after the various offices at the capital have transmitted their Tsou pen the Emperor can immediately see (the officials concerned) in audience so as to hold discussions and instruct the offices in question how to manage matters without the Grand Councillors' being involved in giving instructions" (LIANG Chang-chu, *Shu yuan chi-lueh* 1 9b).

Pao-chao Hsien, *op cit* 86, gives a very loose translation of this passage and interprets it without ascertainable justification as an imperial effort to break the power of the Grand Council; this interpretation appears to overlook the historical context particularly the recent Ho-shen case. We have found no evidence to support Hsien's implied statement, *loc cit*, that before 1799 memorials were read by the Councillors before the Emperor saw them.

⁵³ Cf CnÜ Hung-chi 程鴻祺, *Pao-chih chi-lueh* 保值紀略 (Brief notes of an official on duty), postface 1920 8a-9b we are indebted to Mr Chaoyung FANG of the

4. The Emperor inspected the memorials and made his decisions and comments regarding them.

At this first inspection he might make a simple Endorsement (P'i) settling the matter in question; in such case the imperial decision could be transmitted through the Council without further discussion or delay. On the other hand, matters which he wished to discuss with his Councillors, or regarding which he wished them to prepare the draft of an Edict or the like, would be so indicated. Thus his turning down one corner of a memorial would mark it for further consideration (see sec. 5, Chê-pên).

5. The memorials were then sent down to the Grand Council to be dealt with as indicated by the Emperor.

On their arrival at the Council, the Secretaries of that body classified and distributed them. Those on which an imperial decision had already been reached were dealt with in the routine manner described below. But usually some memorials were still a live issue,—those which bore no Endorsement or were endorsed "There is a separate Rescript" (ling yu chih 另有旨) or which were otherwise indicated for discussion, as by the turning down of a corner. Regarding these documents the Secretaries under the Councillors' direction, or perhaps the Councillors themselves, prepared drafts of an imperial decision, whether Edict, Rescript, or Endorsement, in preparation for the audience of the following morning. Such memorials were called "audience memorials" (chien-mien chê 見面摺). Usually there were only a few each day.⁸⁴

Library of Congress for this reference and other assistance "Memorials from the provinces are all transmitted (to the Emperor) a day ahead. When the Emperor and Empress Dowager have finished inspecting them, there are some which the Emperor has endorsed at the time, there are some which are set aside and not yet endorsed. Both types are sent down to the Councillors to be examined by them, which is called the "morning work" (tsao-shih 早事). (In the same way,) when they (the Councillors) have finished inspecting them, they first take the memorials which have Endorsements and hand them over to the Secretaries to be sorted out and recorded for the archives. For those which have been set aside and not yet endorsed, they may discuss the draft of an Endorsement or Rescript. They put the memorials in a box and insert a memorandum listing how many there are, and respectfully requesting that Vermilion Endorsements be sent down."

⁸⁴ Cf. T'êng Chih-ch'êng 193, also under note 59 below.

6. On the following day at dawn the documents held over in this manner from the previous day were dealt with by the Emperor and the Grand Councillors in audience.⁵⁵

Here again there are few regulations, except as to where the ministers should sit in the imperial presence. There was evidently no bar to thorough and informal discussion. The Councillors would present both the memorials in question and also their own drafts and memoranda or minutes (P'ien, see sec. 5).

7. When the imperial decision regarding a Tsou-pên had been made, either by the Emperor alone when he first saw the document or subsequently in concert with his Councillors, the documents concerned were then returned to the Grand Council and copies were made.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Chia-ch'ing hui tien* 3 1a "On ordinary days (the Grand Councillors) are on duty in the Forbidden City in order to await a summons to audience the hall of the Grand Council is inside the Lung tung Gate Every day in the period from three to five A M the Grand Councillors attend in this place As soon as the management of affairs is finished, the eunuchs of the Chancery of Memorials to the Emperor transmit a rescript ordering them to disperse, whereupon they go off duty They are summoned to audience at no fixed time, either once or several times (a day) When the Grand Councillors have come before the Emperor, mats are spread upon the floor and they are graciously allowed to sit down All Tsou pên which are sent down to various departments of government and which have received the vermilion endorsement "There is a separate rescript," or on which there is a rescript but not yet a vermilion endorsement,—all are offered up to await an imperial decision When a rescript has been received they go out"

⁵⁶ *Chia-ch'ing hui tien* 3 2a "All Edicts and Rescripts which have been publicly issued, after they have been handed down, are sent down to the Grand Secretariat

"Those which are handed down for a special purpose are called Edicts, those which are handed down in answer to a request presented in a memorial are called Rescripts; or if they are in answer to a request presented in a memorial and are to be proclaimed at the capital and in the provinces, they also are called Edicts In form, an Edict reads 'the Grand Secretariat has received an imperial Edict', a Rescript reads 'a Rescript has been received' On each is recorded the year, month, and day on which it was received After the drafts above mentioned have been presented to the Emperor and the imperial decision has been sent down, those handed down for a special purpose (i e Edicts) are immediately sent to be copied, those handed down in answer to a memorial (i e Rescripts) are sent to be copied together with the original memorial Other memorials (tsou-chê 奏摺), such as those which have received the Vermilion Endorsements 'Let the Board in question deliberate and memorialize,' 'Let the Board in question be informed' are also immediately sent to be copied All those which have received the Vermilion Endorsement 'Seen' (lao 鈐), or the Vermilion Endorsement 'Noted' (chih tao-liao 知道了), or a Vermilion Endorsement approving or not

Ordinary Tsou-pên were sent to be copied by the Military Archives Office. But those which had been presented as secret, or bore Vermilion Endorsements which should be kept secret, or which were originals that were to be transmitted in Letters or Edicts, were all copied by the Secretaries of the Grand Council in person.⁵⁷

8. The imperial will was then made known.

Copies might be sent to the Grand Secretariat or to the Board of War for transmission by horse post to the provinces or to various Boards at the capital for them to act upon. Edicts, which were drafted by the Grand Councillors as one of their chief functions, might be addressed to the Councillors themselves (see sec. 5, Yu) or to the Grand Secretariat. In any case, they would not

approving the matter memorialized, or a Vermilion Endorsement which teaches and admonishes, or which praises and encourages, all are examined to see whether they are matters which ought to be dealt with by the Boards and Departments at the capital (pu yüan 部院), in which case they are sent to be copied, while those that do not concern the Boards and Departments are not sent to be copied.

"Those which are sent to be copied are given to the Secretaries of the Grand Secretariat, who receive and distribute them for copying (by clerks). Of Memorials which have not received a Vermilion Endorsement, a copy is made from the original memorial. Of Memorials which have received a Vermilion Endorsement, whether or not they are sent to be copied, a duplicate is made. An original memorial bearing a Vermilion Endorsement, if it was a memorial from an office at the capital, is deposited in the Grand Council, if it was a memorial from a province or city (government), then it is returned (to the memorialist).

"Memorials (tsou-che 奏摺) which have been presented by a special messenger are given to the Chancery of Memorials to the Emperor in the palace to be sealed up and sent back. Memorials which have been sent in by horse post are sealed up by the Grand Council and given to the Couriers Office of the Board of War for transmission. If a memorial was originally sent in by horse post but there is no need of haste in returning it, it is sealed up and retained until a convenient opportunity for sending it.

"When the distribution and copying of the memorials at the Grand Secretariat is finished, ~~then the memorials which have been received~~ they are taken back, and together with the memorials which have not been sent to be copied, they are placed in the archives.

"Edicts ordering the Grand Councillors to take action, after they have been handed down, are then sealed up and sent off.

"Either an urgent Edict, or a secret Edict, which is not handed down publicly through the Grand Secretariat is called a Court Letter (ting-chi 廷寄). It is sealed up by the Grand Council and given to the Couriers Office of the Board of War for transmission."

⁵⁷ See under note 58 below.

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approving the matter memorialized, or a Vermilion Endorsement which teaches and admonishes, or which praises and encourages, all are examined to see whether they are matters which ought to be dealt with by the Boards and Departments at the capital (pu yüan 部院), in which case they are sent to be copied, while those that do not concern the Boards and Departments are not sent to be copied.

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⁵⁷ See under note 53 below

be addressed to the high officials in the provinces; the latter would receive the imperial will in the form of a Court Letter (T'ing-chi, see sec 5) sent to them by the Council and embodying in it the imperial Edict. On the other hand, Edicts of less importance or addressed to no particular officials would be publicly issued (ming-fa) by the Grand Secretariat, in which case they might subsequently reach the provinces through the medium of the Peking Gazette in one or another of its forms (see sec 5, T'ang-pao). The fullest description of the procedure just described is that given by Prince Kung, which we quote in part below.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Cf LIANG Chang-chu *op cit* 22 4b-6 "Every day between four and eight A M memorials (tsou pên) must be sent down from the Emperor to the Grand Council, the Secretaries divide them up and send them to the various Grand Councillors in succession to read and examine. This is called Receiving the Memorials (chueh-chê 接摺). All Memorials which have received a Vermilion Endorsement 'There is a separate Rescript,' or for which there is a Rescript but no Vermilion Endorsement as yet received are collected separately in a yellow box and given to the Grand Councillors who offer them up respectfully in audience and ask for a Rescript. This is called Having an Interview (chien mien 見面).

'The Secretaries on duty for a certain day take the Tsou pen which have been received on that day, the Memoranda (p'ien tan 片單) which have been transmitted, and the Edicts and Rescripts which have been received from the Emperor and carefully classify and record them. Vermilion Endorsements are respectfully recorded in toto, while the particulars of Edicts, Rescripts, and Memorials are epitomized. On those which should be sent to the Grand Secretariat they mark the character 'Transfer' (chiao 交), on those which should be sent to the Board of War they mark 'For Transmission by Horse' (ma-ti 馬遞) and the number of li to be covered per day. (All these documents) are bound up in thick volumes one for the spring and summer seasons one for the autumn and winter seasons. This is called Keeping up with the Work on Hand (sui shou 隨手, cf remarks of SHAN Shih yuan 149 on Sui shou teng chi tang 隨手登記檔).

In copying Edicts and Rescripts that are publicly issued and all types of Memoranda, paper with six ruled lines is used, in copying Letters (chi hsin 寄信) and Edicts to be transmitted (ch'uan yü 傳諭), paper with five ruled lines is used each line having twenty characters. This is called Having on hand for Transmission (hsien ti 現遞).

"If there are some that have too great a number of characters and must be copied and transmitted in haste then one man is ordered to cut the draft up into sections, which are divided and quickly copied. This is called Marking off Sections (t'ien k'ou 點扣). When the parts have been copied out they are pasted together again. This is called Joining up Sections (chieh k'ou 接扣).

"After the documents have been handed to the Ta la mi (head of a section of eight secretaries) to be proof read they are collected in a yellow box and sent to the Grand Councillors who carefully examine them to see that there are no errors and then give

It is an interesting question how long this process usually required. From the statutes we know that memorials from the capital were to be handed in at dawn, those from the provinces might arrive at any time. The Emperor read memorials at dawn. He also saw the Grand Councillors at that time, and they remained

them to the palace eunuchs for presentation to the Emperor. This is called Reporting of Rescripts (shu-chih 述旨)

"Documents which have been revised by the Vermilion Pen (chu pi 硃筆) are said to have Passed the Vermilion (kuo-chu 過硃) (Huan Shih ming 管世銘, Yun-shan t'ang shih-chi 韞山堂詩集 [Collected Poems of Yun-shan t'ang] ed. 1894, 15 2 line 2 explains this as To Transfer the Vermilion, i. e. onto a copy of the original document.)

"When a proposed Edict or Rescript has been prepared ahead of time, and after copying has been kept in a box with a view to its being submitted at the proper time, it is called a Document Prostrate on the Ground (fu ti k'ou 伏地扣)

"When the Emperor happens to go on a journey and a document is submitted at the first post station, it is called Transmitted at Dismounting (hsia ma ti 下馬遞)

"Whenever an Edict or Rescript accompanying a Memorial is given to the Chinese Registry of the Grand Secretariat, or whenever an Edict or Rescript not called for by a Memorial but handed down specially is given to the Manchu Registry of the Grand Secretariat, or whenever Letters and Edicts to be transmitted by horse post are given to the Board of War, or if they are to be given to the various Boards to be discussed in haste or dealt with in haste and so are given specially to the Boards—in all these cases the recipient is made to sign his name and mark in a notebook. This is called to Transfer for Issue (chiao-fa 交發)

"All copying of Memorials is the business of the Military Archives Office, in the case of Memorials which have been secretly presented or which are the originals used in Letters or in Edicts to be transmitted with care, or which have Vermilion Endorsements and ought to be kept secret,—in all such cases the Secretaries of the Grand Council themselves make the copies. As each copy of a Memorial is finished the Secretary in question takes the original and the copy and compares them, and then records on the face of the copy what was memorialized by a certain man on a certain subject, the month and day, and whether or not it is to be transferred (chiao 交). This is called Filling in the Face (k'ai mien 開面)

"The Secretaries on duty for the day take the original Memorials from the processes which have been received on that day, putting each in its original envelope, and deliver them to the Chancery of Memorials to the Emperor. This is called Transferring the Memorials (chiao-che 交摺)

"The Edicts and Rescripts received on that day and the Memoranda transmitted are copied and bound into a volume day by day this is added to and it is changed for a new volume every month. This is called Cleaning the Archives (ching tang 清檔)

"Memorials and Memoranda despatched from the Grand Council, or returned from the Grand Secretariat or elsewhere, and preserved in this office form one bundle every day and a package every half month. This is called the Monthly Memorials (yueh-che 月摺)"

on call to be seen at any other time it might be necessary. Memorials seen by the Emperor were sent down to the Council in the morning, providing their "morning work" (tsao-shih 早事). Finally, it is stated that memorials were usually seen by the Emperor one day before they were considered by the Council. From this and similar evidence we may conclude that, ordinarily, a memorial might be presented at dawn or during the course of one day and be seen by the Emperor on that day or at dawn of the following day; in either case it would ordinarily be sent down to the Council on the second day; if it was to be discussed further, it would then be brought back by the Councillors on the morning of the third day for a final decision. This may have been the routine with business which was not pressing. On the other hand, there was every opportunity to speed up the process *ad libitum*, and an urgent memorial might be received, presented, and discussed by the Emperor and his Councillors all within the space of a few hours.⁵⁹

9. Finally, the memorials (chê) were returned through the Chancery of Memorials to the original memorialist, whether in the provinces or at the capital. This afforded a form of direct contact between the Emperor and his officials, at least in the case of memorials bearing an imperial notation.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Prof T'ING Chih-ch'eng 197 states that it was a rule that the issuing of all imperial Edicts must be completed by the Council officers on the same day that the decisions concerned were handed down from the Emperor.

⁶⁰ Cf *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 3 2a, espec last line, also 65 11b and *Kuang hsü hui tien* 82 12a "Every day the various memorials (chê) which are transmitted (excepting those memorials transmitted by express post, all of which are handed by the Chancery eunuchs directly to the Grand Council for sealing and returning [fa 發], and which are not returned [fa hsia 下] by the Chancery),—all other memorials from the provinces no matter whether they have received a Rescript or not, are securely sealed by the Chancery eunuchs, on the following day they are handed to the Chancery to be returned (in each case) to the man originally transmitting the memorial, to be reverently received by him. As to the various memorials transmitted at the capital (excepting those which are retained by the Emperor and are returned by the Grand Council, or which are ordered to be handed to the ministers of state having audience on that day, to be returned by them),—regarding all other memorials which are returned by the Chancery whether they have received the Rescript 'Let it be as recommended' or have received the Rescript 'Noted,' straightway the Chancery transmits the imperial will that (the memorial) may be received (by the memorialist)." The

A brief conclusion may be suggested. First, it is plain that this paper is no more than a preliminary survey. We have touched upon a score or more of institutions and steps in procedure, on each of which a monograph should be written. For such work the various editions of the Cases Supplementary to the *Collected Statutes* (*°hui-tien tsê-li*, or *shih-li*), cited above, provide an inexhaustible storehouse of material, which may be supplemented by the documentary collections and writings of Chinese officials. American students of government and political science have so far left it untouched.

Secondly, this survey confirms the view that the Grand Council was all-important and the Grand Secretariat almost negligible in the making of important decisions of policy during the nineteenth century, particularly before 1860. In the investigation of the origins of Manchu policy, either in internal or in foreign affairs, the Grand Councillors and the Secretaries to the Grand Council must be the foci of attention; the latter had more influence in the drafting of Edicts and such documents than did the high dignitaries of the Grand Secretariat who were not in the Council, yet we have at present few studies regarding them.

Finally, for an understanding of Manchu policy attention must be centered upon the personality of the Emperor and the influences affecting him. Our survey indicates that the Emperor was required to play a part, passive though it might be, in the making of every important decision. This fact of personal rule has been commented upon for generations past, yet its implications, from an administrative point of view, have seldom been explored. From the summary of procedure given above, it is patent that the Emperor was obliged to act as a sort of clearing-house for all important matters. We may well inquire whether this did not produce a bottle-neck in the flow of administrative business. Under an Emperor of only ordinary vigor it is a pertinent question whether the press of routine work did not stifle both his initiative and his adaptability

later fate of returned memorials is a puzzling question. Hsü (1) 186 describes the vast number of Tsou pén, over 100 000 for the Ch'ien-lung period, preserved in the Palace archives. The question whether and in what manner returned memorials would have found their way into the archives demands further attention.

In other words, the central administration of the Ch'ing, and indeed the whole Chinese tradition of the personal rule of the Son of Heaven, demanded a superman at the head of affairs. The lack of a superman, and the rapid multiplication of state affairs, must be an important factor in the collapse of the Manchu administration during the nineteenth century. Considerations such as the above challenge the attention of the political scientist, while for the diplomatic historian they are all important.

4 SELECT LIST OF PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS OF CH'ING DOCUMENTS

This list is presented partly to facilitate references in section 5 below and partly to call this material to the attention of students who have not been specializing in bibliography. The list is in no sense exhaustive, and new collections of documents are continually appearing. It is meant to include the chief examples of the material now available, which would not be out of place in every Chinese library. Several collections of documents obviously based on collections here noticed have been omitted. There is a large and rapidly growing critical bibliography relating to these various collections, the description of which is beyond the scope of this paper, but attention should be called to an early comprehensive study of Ch'ing historical literature in general by Erich HAENISCH (*Das Ts'ing shi kao und die sonstige chinesische Literatur zur Geschichte der letzten 300 Jahre*, *AM* 6 403-44 [1930]) and to the recent study by K. N. BIGGERSTAFF, *Some Notes on the Tung hua lu and the Shih lu* (*HJAS* 4 101-15), in which further references may be found. There is an obvious need for further studies similar to Prof. BIGGERSTAFF's and dealing with single collections. For a more complete list of Palace Museum publications of documents than that here presented, cf. KOESTER.

Chang ku ts'ung pien 掌故叢編 (Collected Historical Documents) pub. monthly by the Department of Historical Records (Wen Hsien Kuan 文獻館) Palace Museum Peiping first issue Jan. 1928 beginning with the eleventh issue the title was changed to *Wen hsien ts'ung pien* 文獻叢編 see below

Chin tai Chung kuo wai chiao shih tzu liao chi yao 近代中國外交史資料輯要 (A Source Book of Important Documents Relating to the Modern Diplomatic History of China), compiled with prefaces by CHIANG T'ing fu 蔣廷黻 (T F TSIANG), 2 vols Shanghai 1931-4

Ch'ing chi wai chiao shih liao 清季外交史料 (Historical Materials Concerning Foreign Relations in the Late Ch'ing Period 1875-1911), 218 chuan, 卷首 1 chuan, and for the Hsuan t'ung Period (1908-11) 24 chuan, compiled by WANG Yen wei 王彥威 and WANG Liang 王亮 Peiping 1932 5

Ch'ing Hsuan t'ung ch'ao Chung jih chiao shê shih liao 清宣統朝中日交涉史料 (Historical Materials Concerning Sino-Japanese Relations in the Hsuan t'ung Period 1908-11), 6 chuan, Palace Museum, Peiping 1932

Ch'ing Kuang hsu ch'ao Chung Fa chiao-she shih liao 清光緒朝中法交涉史料 (Historical Materials Relating to Sino-French Relations in the Kuang hsu Period 1875-1908), 22 chuan, Palace Museum, Peiping 1933

Ch'ing Kuang hsu ch'ao Chung jih chiao shê shih liao 清光緒朝中日交涉史料 (Historical Materials Concerning Sino-Japanese Relations in the Kuang hsu Period 1875-1908), 88 chuan, Palace Museum, Peiping 1932

Ch'ing san fan shih liao 清三藩史料 (Historical Materials Concerning the Three Feudatories of the Early Ching Period, i e Wu San-luei et al), 5 vols, Palace Museum Peiping 1932

Ch'ing tai wai chiao shih liao 清代外交史料 (Historical Materials Concerning Foreign Relations in the Ch'ing Period) 6 vols for the Ch'ing period 1796-1820 and 4 vols for the Tao-kuang period 1821-50, Palace Museum, Peiping 1932 3

Ch'ing tai wen tzu yü tang 清代文字獄檔 (Archives on the Ch'ing Literary Inquisition), 12 vols Palace Museum Peiping 1931 et seq

Ch'ou pan i wu shih mo 籌辦夷務始末 (The Complete Account of Our Management of Barbarian Affairs) photolithograph of the original compilation 80 chuan for the later Tao-kuang period 1836-50 presented to the Emperor 1856, 80 chuan for the Hsien feng period 1851-61 presented 1867 100 chuan for the T'ung chih period 1862-74, presented 1880 Palace Museum, Peiping 1930

Chu p'i shang yü 硃批上諭, same as *Chu p'i yü-chih*, q 1

Chu-p'i yü-chih 硃批諭旨 (Vermilion Endorsements and Edicts [of the Yung-chêng Period 1723-35, Including the Memorials Concerned]), preface of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor dated 1738, 112 vols.

I-wu shih-mo, see Ch'ou-pan i-wu shih-mo.

Ku-kung o-wên shih-liao 故宮俄文史料 ("Documents in Russian Preserved in the National Palace of Peiping," K'ang-hsi and Ch'ien-lung periods, 1662-1722 and 1736-95), compiled by Liu Tsé-jung 劉澤榮, with Chinese translation by WANG Chih-hsiang 王之相, pp. 312, Peiping 1936.

Liu-shih-nien-lai Chung-kuo yü Jih-pên 六十年來中國與日本 (China and Japan in the Last Sixty Years), 7 vols., compiled by WANG Yün-shêng 王芸生, Tientsin 1932-4.

Ming-ch'ing shih-liao 明清史料 (Historical Materials of the Ming and Ch'ing Periods), 4 vols., edited by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1930-1.

Ming-ch'ing shih-liao i-pien 乙編 (second series), 10 vols., Commercial Press, Shanghai 1936.

Shêng-hsün, see Shih-ch'ao shêng-hsün.

Shih-ch'ao shêng-hsün 十朝聖訓 (Sacred Instructions or Exhortations of Ten Reigns, 1616-1874), 922 chüan, 286 vols., last preface Jan. 6, 1880.

Shih-liao hsün-k'an 史料旬刊 (Historical Materials Published Every Ten Days), 40 vols., Palace Museum, Peiping 1930-1.

Shih-liao ts'ung-k'an ch'u-pien 史料叢刊初編 (Miscellaneous Historical Materials, First Series), 10 vols., compiled by Lo Chên-yü 羅振玉, Tung-fang hsüeh-hui, 1924.

Shih-liao ts'ung-pien 史料叢編 (Miscellaneous Historical Materials), 12 vols., compiled by Lo Chên-yü 羅振玉, 1933.

Shih-lu, see Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu.

Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu 大清歷朝實錄 (Veritable Records of Successive Reigns of the Ch'ing Dynasty), 4485 chüan, Ōkura Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha 大藏出版株式會社, Tōkyō 1937-8; cf. W. Fucus, Beiträge zur mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur, Tōkyō 1936, 58-71.

T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo chao-yü 太平天國詔諭 (Proclamations and Edicts of the T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo Era), compiled by HSIAO I-shan, 1 vol.,

nately, western research on the Ch'ing period is so little advanced that the opportunity still exists to agree upon a common vocabulary, with the efficiency and economy which it would provide, providing a miraculous cooperation to that end can be achieved. We hope therefore that the suggestions of other workers, which will be offered in modification of our own, will be given publicity. It is not the object of the present compilation to put forward a revised terminology, we have tried, like the sage, merely to codify that which is already established. As with a system of romanization, English translations of Chinese terms are often mere conventions. It is important first that the translation should be reasonably accurate in meaning, and then that it should follow the tradition to be found in the literature of the field.

All translators of Ch'ing documents will be familiar with three text books, in which the traditional usage is chiefly recorded:

1 T F WADE, 文什自選集 *Wên chien tzu erh chi*, A series of papers selected as specimens of Documentary Chinese, designed to assist students of the language as written by the officials of China, in sixteen parts with key, London 1867, 2 vols,

2 F HIRTH, 新開文件錄 *Hsin kuan wên chien lu*, Text Book of Documentary Chinese, with a vocabulary, for the special use of the Chinese Customs Service, Shanghai 1885, 2 vols, cited as HIRTH,

3 The second edition of No 2, rearranged, enlarged, and edited by C H BREWITT TAYLOR, Shanghai 1909 10, 2 vols, is cited as BREWITT-TAYLOR.

To these volumes should be added W F MAYERS, *The Chinese Government*, Shanghai 1896, revised by G M H PLAYFAIR, Appendix sec 3, 'Forms of Official Correspondence', and H A GILES, *A Chinese English Dictionary*, Shanghai 1912. All these works were compiled by men who had spent long years in official service in China, often in daily correspondence with the authorities. The translations of Chinese terms which they adopted, especially those in GILES' dictionary, which we cite frequently below, represent the considered usage of a generation or more of

consular and customs officials. They have entered so largely into the literature on nineteenth century China that little can be gained by a wanton revision of terms, except where clarity makes it necessary. On the other hand, it must be remembered that these observers were not versed in the inner workings of the metropolitan administration, knew little of its procedure, and were not personally acquainted with many types of documents which have been published from the archives in the last decade. What follows is intended to supplement rather than to include the notes and suggestions available in BREWITT TAYLOR.

In the second place, this catalogue is intended to indicate how a given type of document was used, again for the convenience of western students. To this end, references have been given where possible to published examples of each type. We omit from the list minor variations of a given type and also a multitude of names of various kinds of archives and records which are referred to by modern Chinese archivists (see note 7 above) but the exact nature of which is not always clear, and which are in any case not available to students outside the archives. It has not seemed worthwhile to record the formal phraseology with which each type of document normally begins and ends: many follow the form exemplified in the Chao hui beginning *wei chao hui shih* 爲照會事 (in the matter of a communication) and ending *hsu chih chao hui che* 須至照會者 (a necessary communication), cf BREWITT TAYLOR 2 10 "Col 12"

A division of the catalogue into sub-categories would not be easy, for there is no sharp and useful dividing line between documents exchanged between government offices and documents submitted to the Emperor, nor between the latter and documents issued by the Emperor. To facilitate the study of related types we offer the following incomplete analytical summary.

1 DOCUMENTS EXCHANGED BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OFFICES

In the Chinese scheme of things the typological names of these documents often serve to indicate the relative rank of the correspondents. This relationship can be indicated in translation only by a convention, since documents of this sort in the west would

nearly all be called despatches. To indicate the three general forms of relationship between the correspondents, we suggest Order or Orders (from a superior), Communication (from an equal), and Report (from a subordinate or inferior), these might also be rendered "a despatch ordering," or "a despatch communicating," and so on. A despatch from an inferior in rank who is not a direct subordinate presents a nice problem, which we have not tried to solve.

Communications Chao hui, Chao fu, Chih hui, I hui, I-tzū, I-wên, Kung han, Tzū, Tzū ch'eng, Tzū hsing, Tzū hui, Tzū-pao, Tzū wên

Despatches from ministers of state, in most cases the Grand Council, conveying imperial Edicts or the like Chi hsin, Chiao chih, Chiao p'ien, Ch'uan yu, Han, T'ing-chi, Tzū chi Orders Cha, Cha fu, Ku tieh, Kuan-wên, Ling, P'ai, P'ai p'iao, Tieh

Petitions several of the entries below under Reports are translated as Petition in certain contexts, e g when presented to an official by a commoner

Reports Ch'eng, Ch'eng wen, Hsiang wên, Ping, Shên, Shên wên, Tieh ch'eng, Tzu ch'eng

2 DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED TO THE EMPEROR

Copies of memorials Chueh t'ieh, Fu pên, Shih shu, Lu shu

Endorsed memorials Hung pên, see also P i hung

Memorials Che tsou, Ch' i pen, Liu ts'ao chang tsou, Pen chang, Piao chang Piao pen, Po pen, Pu pen, T i pen, T i tsou, Tsou che, Tsou pen Tung pen

Summaries of memorials Lu shu, Shih shu, Tieh huang

Supplementary memorials Chia p'ien, Fu p'ien, Fu tsou, P'ien, P ien tsou, Tsou p'ien

Tributary memorials Kung piao, Wai fan piao chang

3 DOCUMENTS ISSUED FROM THE EMPEROR

Commands Ch'ih, Ch'ih yu, Ch uan ch'ih, Tso ming ch'ih

Decrees Chih, Chih shu Chih tz u, Lang-chih

Edicts Chu yu, Shang yu, Yu, Yu-chih

Endorsements Chu pi, Chu p'i, P i hung, Yu p'i

Instructions Hsun yu, Shêng hsun

Ordinance Kao

Patents Ch'ih ming, Kao ming, Ts'e

Proclamations Chao, Chao huang, Chao kao

Rescript Chih

Utterances in general Ssü lun, copies T'a huang and T'êng huang

4 DOCUMENTS ENCLOSED IN OTHER DOCUMENTS

Chia p'ien, Ch'ing tan, Ch'ing ts'e, Huang ts'ê, Pao hsiao ts'ê,
P ien, Tsou hsiang ts'ê

CHA 扎 or 劄 ORDER

A document sent from a superior to a subordinate, GILES 127, 142, an order from a superior to a subordinate under his jurisdiction, *Tz'u hai* 辭海 (no better authority found)

Ex *Shih-liao hsün k'an* 7 221, from the Grand Council to provincial officials For 劄 cf *Chang ku ts'ung-pien* 2 section 2 15a, from the Grand Council to the Ch'ang Lu salt administrator

CHA-FU 劄付 ORDER

Used from provincial treasurers to prefects and magistrates, MAYERS 139, from provincial commanders in-chief to Prefects and lower local officials, and from provincial Governors to Colonels and lower military officials, *Tz'u hai* citing *Ch'ing hui tien* (exact reference not found)

Ex photographs of originals issued by Wu San kuei, *Ch'ing san-fan shih-liao* 2 and 3

CHA-HSING 劄行 DECLARATION

By the treaty of Nanking 1842 art xi, Chinese high officers in the provinces were to address subordinate British officers under the term "Declaration" (Cha hsing), but the term did not become well established and was superseded by Chao-hui, cf also French treaty of Whampoa 1844 art xxxiii

Ex HIRTH no 48, Tsungli Yamen to Inspector General of Customs 1870, no 66, same to same 1882

CHAO 詔 Imperial PROCLAMATION, MANDATE

One of the Ssu lun, q v, uttered by the Emperor, see also under Kao, to announce to the people as has been the custom for Emperors since the time of the Han dynasty, GILES 470

Ex *Ho pei ti : po-wu yuan pan-yueh-k'an* 河北第一博物院半月刊 (Semi monthly Publication of the First Museum of Hopei) no 17, May 25, 1932, a circular order of the Shun chih period for the seizure of CH'ENG Ch'êng kung (Koxinga), *Yung chêng shang-yu*, K'ang hsi 61st year, eleventh month

CHAO-FU 昭覆 [or 復] COMMUNICATION IN REPLY

A reply to a Chao hui, q v

Ex *Wên hsien ts'ung-pien* 23 section 2 lb, from Lord Elgin to Prince Kung 1860

CHAO-HUANG 詔黃 Yellow bill bearing a PROCLAMATION

A copy of an imperial utterance (Sssü lun) written in black on yellow paper, another name for T'êng huang, q v

CHAO-HUI 昭會 COMMUNICATION

Addressed to an official slightly inferior in rank, MAYERS 139 gives eight situations in which it was used, the treaty of Nanjing 1842 art xi declares that "Her Britannic Majesty's Chief High Officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese High Officers, both at the Capital and in the Provinces, under the term 'Communication' 昭會" (Chao hui) By degrees the term became accepted for correspondence between Chinese and foreign officials generally, irrespective of rank The American treaty of Wanghsia 1844 art xxx provided that Chao hui should be used by the superior authorities, the consuls, and the local officers, civil and military, of both countries The French treaty of Whampoa 1844 art xxxii followed the British definition Cf *Ch'ing-chü ho kuo chao hui mu lu* 清季各國昭會目錄 (Index of Communications with the Various Countries in the Late Ch'ing Period), Palace Museum, Peiping 1935

Ex *Shih-liao hsun k'an* 4 108b, reference to a Chao hui to the ruler of Annam in the Yung-chêng period, *Wên hsien ts'ung-pien* 17, photograph of a Chao hui of 1884

CHAO-KAO 詔誥 Imperial PROCLAMATIONS AND ORDINANCES

Used as a general term for imperial pronouncements of several kinds, equivalents to the Ssü-lun, q. v. Cf. P'êng Wên-chang 彭蘊章, preface to the *Nei-ko han-p'iao-ch'ien chung-shu shê-jên t'í-ming* 內閣漢票簽中書舍人題名 (Names of the Secretaries of the Chinese Registry of the Grand Secretariat), edition 1861, 2. 4-5: "Proclamations and ordinances are the chief writings of the Grand Secretariat" (also quoted by Hsü [1] 183).

CHÊ-PÊN 折本 MEMORIAL

Lit. folded memorial, i.e. with the corner of one sheet turned down; done by the Emperor when reading it, to mark it for further treatment. Cf. *Nei-ko hsiao-chih* (A Brief Sketch of the Grand Secretariat) 3 line 9; "When the Emperor looked at the memorials, if there were some on which he wished to change the draft proposal (ch'ien 簽), then he would turn down one corner and send it out . . ." The memorials so marked were then brought in for discussion when the ministers had audience with the Emperor, cf. *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2. 17a line 10; 8a line 8: "After Pu-pên have been submitted, those which have not yet received an Edict or Rescript in reply and have been folded (chê pên) and sent down are collected and stored according to the day."

CHÊ-TSOU 摺奏 MEMORIAL

Same as Tsou-pên, q. v.; the terms Chê-tsou and Tsou-chê occur more often than Tsou-pên; the latter has been used in the text above for convenience, to contrast with T'í-pên.

Ex.: *Shih-liao hsün-k'an* 1 gives examples beginning with title, date, and chin-tsou 謹奏 (reverently memorializes), and ending with chin-tsou and date; *Wên-hsien ts'ung-pien* 6. third section. 1.

CH'ENG 呈 REPORT, Petition

Addressed by subordinate to superior officials; used by minor district officials to Prefects, MAYENS 140; when addressed to an official by a commoner, Petition, cf. *Fa-lü ta-tz'ü-shu* 法律大辭典 (Dictionary of Legal Terms), Shanghai 1936, 534; also used of presentation of documents to the Emperor.

Ex *Ch'ing san fan shih liao* 2 111 et passim, *Shih-liao hsun-k'an* 13 445a

CH'ENG-WÊN 呈文 REPORT, Petition

Addressed by subordinates to superiors, same as Ch'êng, cf MAYERS 140

Ex *Chang ku ts'ung-pien* 10 3

CHI-CHÜ-CHU 起居注 CHRONICLES

Lit Notes of the Emperor's activity,—a brief day-by day record of the Emperor's actions, chiefly those of a ceremonial and routine administrative nature, nominally including both his statements and his movements, recorded by a staff of officials in a separate department (Ch'i Chu Chu Kuan 府, BRUNNERT 204 Office for Keeping a Diary of the Emperor's Movements, we prefer to follow the translation suggested by Dr FERGUSON, *Wên-hsien lun ts'ung* 33) These notes were sent to the Grand Secretariat at the end of each year and kept in the storehouse They were based partly on the duplicate copies of memorials which were sent to the Grand Secretariat, see under Chieh t'ieh For the regulations regarding types of material to be included in the Chronicles cf *Chia ch'ing hui tien shih li* 792 8b

Ex *Shih liao ts'ung k'an ch'u pien* 4 et passim, *Shih liao hsun k'an* 1 16a, *Shih-liao ts'ung-pien* passim

CHI-PÊN 啓本 MEMORIAL

Practically the same as T1 pen memorials presented to the regent of the Shun chih period in 1644 6, after which the form was no longer used cf Hsu (1) 187 8, *Tung hua lu* June 5, 1646 (Shun chih 6 5b, 1911 edition)

Ex *Ming ch'ing shih-liao* 2 102 et passim *Ch'ing san fan shih-liao* 1 2

CHIA-P' IEN 夾片 SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORIAL

Lit inserted slip, submitted with a memorial for the purpose of adding to it after it had been formally concluded but see under P'ien

Ex *Shih liao hsun k'an* 10 350b

CHIAO-CHIH 交旨 DESPATCH

Lit to transfer a Rescript from ministers of state to subordinate departments, ordering that certain action be taken in accordance with an imperial decision, cf *Kuo hsueh lun-wên so-yin* 國學論文索引 (Index to sinological articles) 3 113 " after the ministers have received the imperial will, they transmit it to their subordinates to be carried out accordingly,—this is called Chiao chih "

Ex *Tung fang tsa chih* 東方雜誌 (*The Eastern Miscellany*), sixth year (1909) nos 3, 13

CHIAO-P' IEN 交片 SHORT DESPATCH

From ministers of state (Grand Councillors) to other departments, see also under P'ien, cf *T'ENG Chih-ch'êng* 196

Ex *Wên hsien ts'ung-pien* 14 section 2 2

CHIEH-T'IEH 揭帖 1 placard, 2 duplicate COPY

1 In common parlance, a placard,—usually of a libellous or seditious character, also an accusation, a plaint (GILES 1455)

Ex *Shih hao hsun k'an* 5 143b, copy of a seditious placard
This meaning appears to have been used also technically in the procedure, cf *Chia ch'ing hui tien* 2 6 "To T'ung pên on which there is writing in improper form or a seal which is not clear or a date which is erased and rewritten, the Transmission Office should attach a placard 加揭帖 "

2 Duplicate copy of a memorial of any kind, according to the statutes three such copies were to be made, at least of T'ung pên, cf *Chia ch'ing hui tien* 54 13b "Three copies accompany a memorial 隨本之揭帖三, one is kept at the (Transmission) Office, one is sent to the Board (in question), one is sent to the Section (of the Office of Scrutiny of the Censorate, i.e. the particular Section concerned with the Board in question) Five days after a T'ung pên has been sealed and sent to the Grand Secretariat (from the Transmission Office), the duplicate copies for the Board and the Section are handed to the Superintendents of Military Posts for distribution " The existence of these duplicate copies necessitated repeated efforts at secrecy, and it was ordered that the

copies should on no account be distributed until five days after the original T'í pên had been sent to the Grand Secretariat, cf *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien shih li* 781 7b, memorial sanctioned in 1734. In addition to the copies already mentioned, in 1729 it was decided that "for all T'í pen and Tsou pên of the various provinces one additional copy (chieh t'ieh) shall be written and sent to the Chronicles Office (Ch'í Chu Chu Kuan, BRUNNERT 204 Office for Keeping a Diary of the Emperor's Movements). After it has been used in compiling the records, the copy shall then be sent to the Grand Secretariat for preservation", cf *Kuang hsu hui tien shih li* 14 35b (by count, next to last page of the chuan), Hsu (1) 188.

Ex *Wên hsien ts'ung-pien* 13 passim, *Ming ch'ing shih hao* 1, 2 passim. Chieh t'ieh end with the formula "In addition to preparing a T'í pen (Tsou pen, Ch'í pên), there is dutifully prepared a copy, a required copy" 除具題外 (or 除具奏外, or 啓外), 理合具揭, 須至揭帖者. Apparently as a development of the above, we find that reports of legal cases were called Hsing pu 刑部 chieh t'ieh, cf *Fa lu ta tz'u shu* 1426. There were also Ping pu 兵部 chieh t'ieh, cf *Wên hsien ts'ung-pien* 13 3.

CHIEN 東 LETTER

Lit a slip of paper, chien shu 東書 a note, a letter,—written on a card, GILES 1668.

Ex *Shih hao hsun kan* 2 61b, 63b, from the ruler of Annam to Chinese Governors General regarding a boundary settlement.

CHIH 旨 Imperial RESCRIPT, imperial DECREE

Fundamentally, the imperial will hence, the imperial decision on a memorial, recorded in red ink on the original. In practice it appears usually to be translated Rescript when found attached to the memorial, Decree when there is no reference to the original memorial. Differs from an Edict (yu) in that the latter is throughout a separate document, differs from an Endorsement (p'í) usually by giving specific rather than routine orders regarding the subject matter of the memorial. In length a Rescript is usually shorter than an Edict, longer than an Endorsement. Re-

scripts were drafted by the Grand Secretariat, Edicts by the Grand Council, cf *Shu yüan ch'ü lüeh* 22 2b

Ex Decrees (chih) published separately *Ch'ing tai wên tzu-yü tang* 2 section 4 3, section 5 4, 4 section 3 4, section 7 4

CHIH 制 Imperial DECREE

One of the imperial utterances (*Ssü lun*), q v, examination lists, patents, and the like began with the phrase "Having received from Heaven the imperial succession, the Emperor decrees as follows" 奉天承運皇帝制曰

Ex *Wên hsien ts'ung-pien* 14 photographic reproduction

CHIH-HUI 知會 COMMUNICATION

Lit to notify, to inform, used in correspondence between government offices, similar to I hui, q v, except that the latter appears usually to send documents as well as to inform about a subject, whereas Chih hui merely informs

Ex *Ming-ch'ing shih liao* 7 699, from the Board of Ceremony to the Inspectorate of the Grand Secretariat (*Chü Ch'a Fang*), *Wên hsien ts'ung pien* 21 section 2 1 from the Imperial Household to the Board of Ceremony

CHIH-SHU 制書 Imperial DECREE

An imperial command, GILES 1910, *lettre du souverain*, COUVREUR 859, *Ta-ch'ing lu li an yü* 大清律例按語 (Commentary on the *Ta-ch'ing lu li*) 1847 edition, preface by HUANG Ên t'ung 黃恩彤 3 4 chih shu section "The words of the Son of Heaven are called Chih, Shu is then the recording of his words, as in Chao 詔, Ch'ih 敕, Yu 諭, Cha, matters which have been memorialized, sanctioned, and put into practice are not in this category"

CHIH-TZU 制誥 Imperial DECREE

Appears to be practically the same as Chih alone, q v

CHIH 敕, 勅, or 勅 IMPERIAL COMMAND

One of the imperial utterances, see *Ssu lun*

CH'IH-MING 敕命 PATENT BY COMMAND

Used to confer titles of honor on officials below the fifth rank, and others; cf. *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2. 4b: "The conferring of titles by imperial command on the dependencies of the empire (wai-fan, i.e. in Mongolia, Tibet, etc.), the extending of favor and conferring of titles of honor on officials of the sixth rank and below, and hereditary nobility not in perpetuity (i.e. gradually diminished), is (done by) a patent by command." It must follow a fixed form, according to the rank involved.

Ex.: *Wên-hsien ts'ung-pien* 14, photographic reproduction.

CH'IH-SHU 敕書 Letters PATENT

Similar to Kao-ch'ih, q. v.

CH'IH-YÜ 敕諭 COMMAND-EDICT (?)

Used to depute officials and to issue special edicts; there are many different forms, among which are two sub-types: (1) a Nominative Command (Tso-ming ch'ih), and (2) a Transmitted Command (Ch'üan-ch'ih); cf. *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2. 4b: "Instructions and announcements to the dependencies of the empire (wai-fan) and officials in the provinces by means of Nominative Commands and Transmitted Commands are called Command Edicts"; *Ch'ien-lung hui-tien* 2. 5: "(In appointing) officials to posts outside the capital,—to Governors-General, Governors, Literary Chancellors, Salt Controllers, Superintendents of the Imperial Manufactories, provincial Commanders-in-chief, Brigade-Generals, et al., a Nominative Command is composed and issued; to provincial Financial Commissioners, Judicial Commissioners, Intendants, Grain Intendants, and Colonels, Lieut. Colonels, and Majors, a Transmitted Command only is given."

Ex.: *Shih-liao ts'ung-k'an ch'u-pien* 9. 1.

CHING-PAO 京報 PEKING GAZETTE

See under T'ang-pao.

CH'ING-TAN 清單 LIST, INVENTORY, etc.

A list of items; a general term,—the list may deal with any subject and may be used in any way, sometimes appended to other documents and submitted to the Emperor.

Ex *Wên hsien ts'ung-pien* 14 last section, *Shih liao hsün k'an* 5 159b, introduced by the phrase *chi k'ai* 計開 (as follows)

CH'ING-TS'E 清冊 or 青冊 GREEN BOOK

Accounts, lists, reports, and such documents appended to memorials and submitted in yellow binding to the Emperor (1 e Huang ts'ê, q 1) were copied and submitted to the metropolitan office concerned in a blue-green binding, whence the name Ch'ing ts'ê. Thus Green Books were usually copies of Yellow Books, cf Hsü (1) 190. Their origin (?) is explained as follows: in 1651 a Metropolitan Censor memorialized that "the ministers of the central government control the expenditure of the national revenue, the ministers of the provinces control its income. When the amount of income is not clear, then the amount of expenditure is obscure. It is requested that beginning in 1651 the office of the Financial Commissioner of each province should calculate the revenue of the entire province, dividing it into various items, and make a bound volume for submission to the Governor General, Governor, and Judicial Commissioner of the province for their examination and comparison, this should respectfully be copied into a Yellow Book and the Governor should join (with the Governor General) in memorializing the total amount submitting (the Yellow Book) along with the memorial for the Emperor's inspection. There should also be made a Green Book, which should be sent in a despatch to the various offices concerned at the capital, for examination and checking. Then it may be possible to put a stop to the provincial authorities' deceitful concealment, and it may also be possible to examine into the incongruities of the metropolitan authorities' (accounts)." Cf *Tung hua lu*, 1911 edition shun-chih 16 17 line 4 (August 1, 1651).

Ex *Shih-liao ts'ung k'an ch'u-pien* 7 sec 2, sec 3

CHU-PI 硃筆 THE VERMILION PEN, or ENDORSEMENT

Same as Chu p'i, q 1

CHU-PI 硃批 VERMILION ENDORSEMENT

A conventional term for an endorsement or comment (see under P'i) written on a memorial by the Emperor's own hand, as distinct

from P'i-hung (q. v.) made by the officials of the Grand Secretariat,—both being in red ink.

Ex.: *Shih-liao hsün-k'an* 1. 20b (in text), 21a (at end).

CHU-YÜ 殊諭 VERMILION EDICTS

Copies of imperial utterances, written in red on yellow paper, see under T'êng-huang.

CH'ÜAN-CH'IH 傳敕 TRANSMITTED COMMAND

From the Emperor to lower provincial officials and the dependencies of the empire, see under Ch'ih-yü.

CH'ÜAN-YÜ 傳諭 TRANSMITTED EDICT

Sent from the Grand Council to lower provincial officials and embodying in its text important imperial commands, a form of T'ing-chi, q. v.

Ex.: *Chang-ku ts'ung-pien* 7. 43b; *Shih-liao hsün-k'an* 6. 192.

FU 覆 interchangeable with 復 IN REPLY

Combined with the names of various kinds of documents to indicate a reply to the document received, as Chao-fu, q. v., Tzü-fu (cf. *Shih-liao hsün-k'an* 2. 64a), etc.

FU-PÊN 副本 COPY, duplicate of a T'i-pên

A copy made at the Grand Secretariat for preservation at the Office of Imperial Historiography (Huang Shih Ch'êng) after the imperial endorsement (copied onto the original T'i-pên in red ink) had been copied onto it in black ink; cf. Hsü (1) 188; *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2. 6a: "For all memorials a duplicate is prepared: in addition to the original copy (chêng-pên 正本) of Tung-pên and Pu-pên, a duplicate (fu-pên) is copied out. After the original memorial has obtained a Rescript, it is sent to the Section (k'ò, i. e. one of the Six Sections of the Censorate). The duplicate is stored for reference."

FU-P'ÏEN 附片 SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORIAL

A memorial (Tsou-pên) sent under the same cover with another, usually on a different although related subject; but see under P'ien.

Ex those printed in *Shih hiao hsun k'an* 4 130 et passim, are often headed p'ien, begin with the character tsai 再 (further), and are referred to in the conclusion as fu p'ien, *op cit* 10 363b is headed fu p'ien and concluded 謹附片具奏

FU-TSOU 附奏 SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORIAL

Same as Fu p'ien, q v

HAN 函 LETTER

An example of the breakdown of the traditional terminology, in general, a letter of any kind GILES 3809 gives a dozen uses. In the later nineteenth century used by the Tsung li ya men in its correspondence with other offices, often combined as mi han 密函 (secret letter), hsin han 信函 (letter), or tzu han 咨函 (despatch letter)

Ex *I-wu shih mo*, Tung-chih section 50 28b line 7, mi han from the Ya mén to high provincial authorities, id line 10, the text of the letter referred to is headed hsin han, id 52 24a, tzu han, *Chang ku ts'ung-pien* 7, sec 1 42a gives a document sent from the Grand Council in 1793 and designated han by the compiler

HSIANG-WÊN 詳文 Detailed REPORT

Addressed by a subordinate to a superior, MAYERS 141 gives situations for its use

Ex *Wên hsien ts'ung-pien* 22, sec 5 32b, a report of the British consul at Tientsin to Li Hung chang. FAN Tseng hsiang 樊增祥, *Fan shan cheng shu* 樊山政書 (My Writings on Administration), Nanking 1910, 2 24

HSÜN-YÜ 訓諭 INSTRUCTIONS AND EDICTS

Not a type of document, used to refer to edicts in general

Ex *Chang ku ts'ung-pien* 1, sec 4 1 *Shih hiao hsun k'an* 39 408a line 4

HUANG-TSÊ 黃冊 YELLOW BOOK

Also called Pao hsiao ts'c and sometimes Tsou hsiao ts'c, q v. Tax accounts construction reports, examination results, and such documents submitted to the Emperor along with memorials, i e

in a manner similar to western "enclosures," were normally bound in yellow paper or silk, whence the name, see under Ch'ing-ts'ê Yellow Books were thus key documents in routine administration, they dealt with a wide variety of subject and were of several different kinds, SHAN Shih yuan (2) 272 5 lists some 60 different categories, classified by content, among those preserved in the Palace archives WANG Chêng kung 王正功, *Chung shu tien-ku hui chi* 中書典故彙紀 (Collected Notes on the History and Regulations of the Grand Secretariat) 1916 edition, 3 36b line 8, states that "the Yellow Books which are submitted along with the memorials of the various metropolitan officials and provincial Governors-General and Governors are given to the Records Office to be preserved in the Great Storehouse (of the Grand Secretariat)" Most of them were submitted annually, some monthly and others triennially, and it has been estimated that the offices at the capital must have received every year well over 2000 volumes Unfortunately these volumes appear to have been less valuable than memorials, from the point of view of the official historian, and only some 13,000 are now said to survive in the Palace archives, see HSU (1) 190 4

Ex Shih hao ts'ung-pien, 二集, 3

HUNG-PÊN 紅本 ENDORSED MEMORIAL

Lit red memorial, so called because it bore an imperial Endorsement written on it in red ink by the officials of the Grand Secretariat after imperial approval of the form of Endorsement, see text, section 2 Two kinds of Hung pên are distinguished, those submitted through the Grand Secretariat and those submitted through the Imperial Household Department (Nei Wu Fu) SHAN Shih yuan (1) 150 1 quotes the passage in the *Collected Statutes* cited above in section 2 note 33, which defines Hung pên as T₁ pên endorsed in red, and then adds his own observation that Hung pên is another name for T₁ pên because they bear the memorialist's seal, which would be in red, while Po pên, q v, is another name for Tsou pên because the latter do not bear the memorialist's seal This explanation seems possible but improbable because it gives the term Hung pên two meanings one of

which includes the other (i.e. T'í pen as a class include all T'í pên endorsed in red) SHAN himself adheres in a previous article (2) 271 to the definition we prefer, given in the *Collected Statutes*. The subject deserves clarification.

I-HUI 移會 COMMUNICATION

Used in correspondence between government offices, similar to Chih hui, except that it appears to imply the sending of documents as well as information.

Ex *Ming ch'ing shih hiao* 7 685 98, from the Board of War to the Archives Office, and also to the Inspectorate, of the Grand Secretariat.

I-TZU 移咨 COMMUNICATION

Between officials of equal or approximately equal rank, cf GILES 12, 342.

Ex *Shih hiao hsun k'an* 1 19a line 4, *Chia-ch'ing hui tien shih li* 12 22a, from Hanlin Academy to Grand Secretariat.

I-WÊN 移文 COMMUNICATION

Between officials of equal or approximately equal rank, cf MAYERS 138.

KAO 稿 ROUGH DRAFT

Not a technical term but used to designate some published items.

Ex *Chang lu ts'ung-pien* 1 sec 1, drafts of edicts of the K'ang hsi period, *Shih hiao hsun-k'an* 4 108b, draft of a communication to Annam.

KAO 詔 ORDINANCE

One of the imperial utterances, see Ssu lun not greatly different from Chiao (Proclamation), cf *Ch'ien lung hui tien* 2 2 ' to announce to the empire is called Chiao to make manifest instructions is called Kao. Judging by the documents remaining in the archives however Hsu (1) 184 concludes that, in general, proclamations emanating from the Emperor were called Chiao, while those from the father of the Emperor, the Great Empress Dowager, and the Empress Dowager, of which there are very few

remaining, were called Kao. Three of the twenty-five imperial seals were used for issuing ordinances: to ministers and officials, for foreign countries, and the whole empire, respectively; cf. *Chiao-t'ai-tien pao-p'u* 交泰殿寶譜 (Imperial seals in the Chiao-t'ai Hall), Peiping 1929.

KAU-CH'IH 詔敕 PATENT

A collective term for Kao and Ch'ih considered together; credentials, letters patent (entitles the holder to use ch'in-ming, by imperial command), GILES 1943; see under Ch'ih-shu; cf. *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2.21b: "the Patent Office (Kao Ch'ih Fang 房) has charge of the receiving and issuing of Patents; it investigates into their selection and drafting and the form in which it would be best to write them out." An imperial seal for conferring patents by command was used to seal Kao-ch'ih; cf. *Chiao-t'ai-tien pao-p'u*, cited above under Kao.

KAU-MING 詔命 PATENT BY ORDINANCE

Used to confer titles of honor on officials of the fifth rank and above, and others; cf. *Chia-ch'ing hui-tien* 2.4b: "to extend favor and confer titles of honor on officials of the fifth rank and above, and hereditary nobility which may be handed down in perpetuity (i.e. without diminution) is (done by) a patent by ordinance." It must follow a fixed form, according to the rank involved. See Ch'ih-ming.

K'OU-KUNG 口供 VERBAL DEPOSITION

Not a technical term, but used to designate material of the type indicated, *viva voce evidence*, GILES 6572.

Ex: *Shih-liao hsun-k'an* 8.281.

KU-TIEH 故牒 ORDER

From superior to subordinate officials; cf. MAYERS 139 for typical situations.

KUAN-W'EN 關文 ORDER

From superiors to subordinates; cf. MAYERS 140 for typical situations; GILES 6368, a passport; no published examples found.

KUNG-HAN 公函 COMMUNICATION

Lit official letters, a very general term, for despatches between independent departments of government, see Han, cf *Fa lu ta-tz'ü shu* 法律大辭書 158 "Public documents used in communication between administrative organs which are not subordinate one to another, are called Kung han"

KUNG-PIAO 貢表 TRIBUTARY MEMORIAL

The memorials submitted to the Emperor together with tribute objects from the rulers of the seven tributary states adjoining China, viz Korea, Liu Ch'iu, Annam, Nan-chang 南掌 (or Lao-huo 老撾 on the southern border of Yunnan), Siam, Sulu, Burma, as listed in *Kuang hsu hui tien* 39 2

Ex *Ku kung yueh-k'an* 故宮月刊 (The Palace Monthly) no 5, Jan 1930, photograph of a list of tribute from Annam

KUNG-TAN 供單 DEPOSITION

Same as Kung tz'ü, q 1

Ex *Shih hao hsün k'an* 34 246, 250

KUNG-TZ U 供詞 DEPOSITION

Not a type of document, similar to K'ou kung, the evidence in a case, GILES 6572

Ex *Shih hao hsün k'an* 34 232b, recording both questions and answers in evidence, *I-wu shih-lo*, Tao kuang section 68 37a, deposition of an official

KUO-SHU 國書 National letter, CREDENTIALS

A document given to (the ruler of) a foreign country, in the nineteenth century and later, diplomatic credentials

Ex *Shih-hao ts'ung k'an*, ch'u pien 1 sec 2 a letter from the Emperor Tai tsung (1627-43) to the king of Korea, *W'en hsien ts'ung-pien* 8 12b, *Chung ying fa wai-chiao tz'u tien* 中英法外交辭典 (Dictionary of Words and Phrases of International Law and Diplomacy in English and French with Chinese Translations), Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1925, 152 159

LING 令 ORDER

A general term, not important as a type of Ch'ing document, a modern name for official documents used in proclaiming laws, appointing and dismissing officials, and generally for commands to subordinates, cf *Fa lu ta tz'u shu* 253

LING-CHIH 令旨 DECREE

Issued from the Emperor during the early years of the dynasty, apparently similar to ordinary Chih 旨

Ex *Shih hiao ts'ung-pien* 4, of date 1644 and later

LIU-TSAO CHANG-TSOU 六曹章奏 MEMORIALS

Lit memorials of the six (1 e Boards) officials, another name for the Shih shu, q v

Ex *Shih hiao ts'ung-pien* 4, *Shih hiao ts'ung k'an*, ch'u pien 6, summaries of the memorials of various of the Six Boards

LU-SHU 錄書 COPIED MATERIALS

Summaries of Hung pen kept at the Six Sections of the Censorate, see under Shih shu

LUN YIN 綸音 IMPERIAL UTTERANCES

Lit silken sounds, 1 e the Emperor's words, see under Ssü lun

PAI 牌 ORDER

From superior to subordinate officials MAYERS 140

Ex *Ch'ing san fan shih hiao* 5, photograph of a ling p'ai 令

PAI-PIAO 牌票 ORDER

From superior to subordinate officials, same as P'ai, cf MAYERS 140

PAO-HSIAO-TS'E 報銷冊 REPORT etc

A common type of Huang ts'e q v

P'EN-CHANG 本章 MEMORIAL

General term for T₁ pen and Tsou chang 奏章 considered together

P'I 批 ENDORSEMENT, COMMENT

A word of broad meaning used technically with reference to the notations made by an official on a memorial presented to him. In general such notations might be either comment or instructions, the latter probably couched in administrative jargon. Notations of the latter type, when made by or on behalf of the Emperor, correspond in a general way to the notations made by western rulers, cabinet ministers, and others, on the back or on the docket of a diplomatic document. In China the term was also used of the reply made by an official to a subordinate, GILES 9048 gives half a dozen such compounds. But the typical imperial notations, such as the set phrase *chih tao hao* (Noted) or *kai pu chih tao* (Let the Board in question be informed), are mere signals for administrative action, not comments or replies, and we have therefore suggested the translation *Endorsement*.

P'I-HUNG 批紅 RED ENDORSEMENT (*lit* endorsed in red)

The act of writing onto a memorial in red ink the Endorsement which has been approved by the Emperor, unlike Vermilion Endorsements (*Chu p'i*), a Red Endorsement was not added by the Emperor's own hand, see text section 2.

PIAO-CHANG 表章 Tributary MEMORIAL

A memorial to the Emperor, under the Ch'ing often a memorial from the ruler of a tributary state, see *Kung piao*.

Ex *Ming-ch'ing shih hao* 7 641 64, from the king of Korea to the Emperor on a variety of subjects, *Ho-pei ti i po-wu yuan pan yuch k'an* (Semi monthly Publication of the First Museum of Hopei) 2 1 (Oct 10, 1931), photograph of Korean Piao-chang of the Ch'ien lung period.

PIEN 片 SHORT SUPPLEMENTARY

It a single sheet or slip of paper, which may be contrasted with *che* 摺 as in *Tsou-che* meaning a folded paper, i.e. a longer document. We are in doubt as to the exact implication of this term. In the phrases *Chia pien* *Fu pien* and *Tsou pien* (qv) it sometimes appears to indicate an additional statement submitted

to the Emperor along with a memorial, but it also denotes a brief memorial, or "minute," in answer to a Rescript or on a simple topic (so also with Ch'ung p'ien, a supplementary or brief report). The problem is complicated by the fact that items headed P'ien are published without any indication as to whether they did or did not originally accompany another document.

Ex P'ien submitted in response to a Rescript, *Chang lu ts'ung pien* 1 12b 2 17a, 7 28b, 8 49a b, et passim. P'ien which appear as short informal memorials, *op cit* 7 42b, 44a, 8 58b, 59b, 62a, et passim, *Shih liao hsun k'an* 8 277a et passim prints P'ien of the Grand Council (Chun chi ch'u p'ien) which seem similar to western minutes, id 13 471 gives both a memorial and the P'ien which accompanied it. The problem deserves further attention.

PING 稟 REPORT, PETITION

A general term used technically of a document to a superior from a minor official or a common citizen.

Ex *Ch'ing san fan shih liao* 3 272 et passim, *Shih liao hsun k'an* 39 424b.

PING-CH'ENG 稟呈 REPRESENTATION

The French treaty of Whampoa 1844 art xxxiii provided that French and Chinese merchants or other non official persons should use the form Representation in addressing officials of the other country. We have found no examples of its use.

PING MING 稟明 REPRESENTATION

By the treaty of Nanking 1842 art xi, merchants and others not in official positions either Chinese or British, were to address the British and Chinese officials respectively, under the term Representation. The American treaty of Wanghsia 1844 art xxx made a similar provision.

PO PEN 白本 UNENDORSED MEMORIAL

Lit white memorial as distinct from Hung pen (red memorial) on which an imperial endorsement had been written in red ink. hence Po pen are memorials (T i pen) which have not been seen.

by the Emperor, cf Hsu (1) 186, SHAN Shih yuan (1) 150 1 For further discussion, see under Hung pên

PU-PÊN 部本 MEMORIAL

Memorials of the T i pên type from the offices of government at the capital (pu yuan), see text sec 2, cf *Chia ch'ing hui tien* 2 6a "Memorials from the Six Boards and memorials from the offices of the various departments, palaces, courts, and superintendencies (in Peking), after they have been submitted to the Six Boards, are in general called Pu pên" According to Hsu (1) 186, they were submitted in both Chinese and Manchu versions

SHANG-YU 上諭 IMPERIAL EDICT

A rather general term, used to refer to Edicts (yu), and sometimes also to Rescripts (chih)

Ex *Shih lao hsun k'an* 6 178b 85, six examples beginning with date and "the Grand Secretariat has received an Imperial Edict" (nei ko feng shang yu), *op cit* 7 237, two examples headed Shang yu and beginning with date and "a Rescript has been received" (feng chih)

SHÊN 申 REPORT

Addressed by subordinates to superior officials, GILES 9816 gives half a dozen compounds, the more important of which are given below

Ex *Ch'ing san fan shih lao* 3 253 et passim

SHÊN-CH'ENG 申呈 STATEMENT

By the treaty of Nanking 1842 art xi, subordinate British officers were to address Chinese high officers in the provinces under the term Statement (Shên-ch'ên), but the term did not become firmly established, and was superseded by Chao-hui The American treaty of Wanghsia 1844 art xxx provided that Shên-ch'ên should be used by inferior officers of either government in addressing superior officers of the other The French treaty of Whampoa 1844 art xxxiii followed the British definition and called it "expose"

SHÊN-CH'ENG 申稱 TO REPORT

See under Shên

Lx HIRTH no 48, Inspector General of Customs to Tsungli Yamên 1870

SHEN-WÊN 申文 REPORT

See under Shên, cf MAYERS 140 for uses

SHIH-SHU 史書 HISTORICAL MATERIALS

Copies of the summaries (T'ieh huang) of endorsed memorials Cf *Kuang hsu hui tien* 69 3b "All memorials that are received back (by the Six Sections of the Censorate) are added to the Shih shu and Lu shu (q v) After Hung-pên have been sent for copying, two other copies are taken by the Section (k'ô) Those presented to the official historians to be recorded are called Shih shu, those stored at the Section for compilation are called Lu shu Both are proof read and stamped with a seal, the Shih shu are sent to the Grand Secretariat, and the Lu shu are kept at the Section" According to SHAN Shih yuan (1) 151, the Shih shu now preserved in the storehouse of the Grand Secretariat are all copies of the T'ieh huang (Summaries) of Hung pen, not of the Hung pen themselves in full Hsu (1) 188 agrees that Shih shu are summaries of Hung pen and so form a detailed index to the latter, in the Ming period, he adds, Shih shu were called Liu ts'ao chang tsou (q v) and Lu shu were called Lu su 錄疏

SSU-LUN 絲綸 IMPERIAL UTTERANCES

Lit silken cords of the *Li chi* 禮記 (Book of Rites) 30, Tzū 1 縑衣 (COUVREUR 2 517) "the prince's words are like silk threads, they issue forth like cords" (GILES, s v) A general term for Decrees, Proclamations, Ordinances, and Commands emanating from the Emperor, cf *Chia ch'ing hui tien* 2 41 "The Emperor's words (lun yin) which are transmitted to the people are called Decree (Chih), Proclamation or Mandate (Chao), Ordinance (Kao), or Command (Chih), all are drafted in proper form and submitted to the Emperor Whenever there is a great ceremonial observance to be promulgated to all the officials, then the form De-

cree (chih tz'u) is used, whenever there is a great political matter to be announced to the ministers and the people and to be handed down as a rule of law, then the Proclamation or Ordinance is used

All are drafted ahead of time and submitted to the Emperor, to reverently await the imperial decision "

T'À-HUANG 摺黃 YELLOW PRINTS

Printed copies of imperial utterances (Ssü lun), see also under T'eng huang, according to Hsu (1) 185, imperial utterances "which were printed on yellow paper from wood-cut blocks were called Yellow Prints, such as the Command Edicts (ch'ih yü) which were issued to the officials who had audience with the Emperor in the early Ch'ing period "

TANG 檔 ARCHIVE

Also Tang an 檔案 and Tang tzü 子, used extensively in compounds designating various archival collections. The ramifications of the Ch'ing archives are indicated in the literature cited above, note 7, no attempt is made to comprehend the subject in this paper

T'ANG-PAO 塘報 PEKING GAZETTE

Lit courier news, also called Ching pao, T'ch'ao, T' pao, etc. Not a type of document but one of the chief means of dissemination of important documents into the provinces, consisting of copies of documents sent from the capital to the high provincial officials for their information, sometimes printed, and sometimes reprinted in the provinces for further circulation, also made up and distributed by private firms. The term Peking Gazette thus is a generic term, including many forms, both official and non official. On T'ang pao see our article "On the Transmission of Ch'ing Documents," *HJAS* 4, 35-6. The most thorough account of the subject in general is R. S. BRITTON, *The Chinese Periodical Press 1800-1912*, Shanghai 1933, 7-17, which also reproduces facsimiles. The Peking Gazette is an ideal subject for an extensive monograph. Ex BRITTON, *op cit.*, *Ching san fan shih hiao* 3: 259 et passim, *Ming-ch'ing shih hiao* 2: 116 et passim. We take this occasion to present a document not otherwise available.

A memorial of August 5 1842 presented by the Governor of Chekiang Liu Yün k'o 劉韻珂, and the acting Governor PIEN Shih,un 卞士雲 describes the private distribution of the Peking Gazette. It had been complained that copies were obtained and examined regularly by the British who consequently knew the plans of the empire.

We would humbly observe that the Capital News (ching pao 京報) respectfully copies the Edicts and Rescripts which are publicly issued from the Emperor every day, and it also inserts memorials (tsou-che) from the ministers at the capital and in the provinces. Its original purpose was to acquaint the provincial authorities in detail with the affairs of the empire. All matters with which it is concerned can be dealt with forthwith for this reason it has not been forbidden. But all councils of state are uniformly inserted in it in detail it is essential that it be kept secret. (Measures would therefore be taken to apprehend the traitors who conveyed it to the English)

As to the Capital News which your servants read every day, it is copied and sent out by the Superintendent of Courier Posts stationed at the capital and relayed by the Superintendent stationed at the provincial capital. But we have heard that aside from this there are also a Liang hsiang News (良鄉報 : e from Liang hsiang Hsien in Shun tien Fu Chihli) and a Cho-chou News 涿州報 : e from Cho-chou also in Shun tien Fu Chihli). The matters which they publish are comparatively more detailed than the Superintendent of the Posts News and their transmission is also relatively faster. We hear that at Liang hsiang and Cho-chou there are men who manage this business and many of the officials and gentry at great expense buy and read these Gazettes. Consequently in the affairs of each province there are things of which the officials have not yet been informed and which others know ahead of them and there are also things which the officials do not know and others do know. We would humbly observe that the transmission of the Capital News to the rebellious barbarians surely is the deed of traitorous natives in the other provinces and it is to be feared that the men who copy and send it for them also are not limited to one place. (Measures should therefore be taken first at the capital itself) *Documents Supplementary to the Iwu shih-mo Based on the Chun Chi Chu Archives* Tsing Hua University Library no 15045 [a ms] courtesy of Dr T F TSIANG

T'ENG-HUANG 騰黃 YELLOW COPIES

Copies of imperial utterances (Ssu lun), GILES 10, 884 gives the colloquial definition "yellow notices, in Chinese and Manchu, placarded in the street to announce some joyful event such as a general pardon, remission of the land tax, etc", Hsu (1) 185 gives the technical explanation,—“Proclamations and Ordinances, Command Edicts (ch ih yu), and Palace examination lists [and other types of imperial utterances] were all written in black characters on yellow paper and were called Yellow Copies or Yellow Proclamations (chao huang). Those which used yellow paper and vermilion characters were called Vermilion Edicts (chu yu) ” See T'a huang

TI-CH'AO 邸抄 PEKING GAZETTE

See under T'ang pao

TI-PAO 邸報 PEKING GAZETTE

See under T'ang pao

T'Y-PEN 題本 MEMORIAL

Memorials to the Emperor usually on routine public business and submitted through the Grand Secretariat, as contrasted with Tsou pên, and Ch'í pên, q v T'í pen as a general type were further differentiated, according to their origin or the treatment they received, as T'ung pên or Pu pen, Hung pên or Po pen, and the like. The evolution of the T'í pên is summarized in the text above, section 2 note 10. We summarize below SHAN Shih k'uei's description of the regulations regarding the size and format of the T'í pên (page references to his sources are inserted where possible).

The T'í pên of the Ming and Ch'ing periods were not the same size. The Ming T'í pên was generally smaller than the Tsou pên, but in the Ch'ing period it was generally larger.

Since the Ming Tsou pên was said to be one foot three inches from top to bottom (Chinese measurement), and the T'í pen was said to be smaller, the latter must have measured about one foot (i e 14 English inches). T'í pen of the Ch'ing period measured 7.9 in (Chinese) vertically and 3.6 in horizontally. Tsou-pên of the Ch'ing period measured 7 in vertically and 3.4 in horizontally. Thus both types of documents appear to have been smaller in the Ch'ing than in the Ming period. On the Ch'ing T'í pen, the t'ang k'ou (i e the space available for writing, exclusive of margins at top and bottom) was 5.3 inches. An edict of Aug 17, 1652 (printed in *Tung hua lu*), ordered that all memorials conform to the proper size.

The regulations for writing T'í pen were on the whole the same in the Ming and Ch'ing periods. "In both cases, each page had six columns, and each column twenty characters. But in the Ming form there were twenty spaces (in each column), the ordinary text was written in (the lower) eighteen spaces, with the upper two spaces for honorary elevation of characters. The Ch'ing form

also had twenty spaces, with ordinary text in (the lower) eighteen spaces and three spaces for honorary elevation (i.e. one space above the column),—this was a point of difference." It was settled in 1651 (*Ta-ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 1042. 1) that references within a memorial to the imperial palaces should be elevated one space; to his majesty the Emperor, an imperial Edict, a Rescript, or anything imperial,—two spaces; to heaven and earth, the ancestral temples, the imperial tombs, temple names of Emperors, and Edicts and Rescripts of imperial ancestors,—three spaces, hence protruding one space into the upper margin.

In 1528 it had been settled that the chief offices, brevet titles, surnames and given names of officials should all be written in one column, with no limit as to the number of characters; and the Ch'ing followed this rule. In both cases the official title and personal name of the memorialist was followed by the phrase "reverently presents a T'i-pên regarding" a certain subject 謹題爲某事.

At the end came the phrase "reverently presented, requesting the imperial will" 謹題請旨.

The number of characters which might be written in a T'i-pên was not limited in the Ming period, although the total was required to be noted. In 1645, however, the Ch'ing established the regulation that no T'i-pên should exceed three hundred characters in length (*Chia-ch'ing hui-tien shih-li* 10. 2b line 7). "Although for memorials on criminal cases and on revenue matters it will be difficult to adhere to that number of characters, yet it is not permitted that they be repetitious and prolix. Take the main ideas of the memorial and gather them together in a summary (T'ieh-huang) in order to facilitate its being looked over; it should not exceed one hundred characters. If the number of characters surpasses the limit, and a great many clauses are inserted, or if the summary in comparison with the original memorial is confused and different in meaning, the office in question must not seal it up for presentation but take it to be an offense against the regulations and conduct an examination and impeachment."

However, this regulation of 1645 was not meticulously followed in practice, and by 1724 it had become a dead letter. (Although

Mr SHAN does not suggest it, one cannot help wondering if the Transmission Office was not taking advantage of the technicality, see note 15 above) *Chia-ch'ing hui tien shih li* 10 4a quotes an imperial decision of 1724 which states "T'i pen and Tsou pen according to the old regulations, except for criminal cases and revenue matters, were not to exceed three hundred characters and the summaries were not to exceed one hundred characters, and if the number of characters overflowed the limit, the Transmission Office was authorized to refuse the memorial and send it back. But important memorials, such as those dealing with how to promote prosperity, do away with abuses, encourage the doing of good, or punish evil—properly ought to be quite detailed, which will be of advantage to government, if there is a fixed limit to the number of characters and it is not allowed to raise many topics, the result must be to omit too much or be too brief. Hereafter, as regards T'i pen and Tsou pen, except those in which there are mistakes regarding the proper form or honorary elevation (of certain characters), the Transmission Office should not act on its own authority and refuse and return them because the number of characters or of items dealt with is excessive and offends against the regulations."

En *Wen hsien tsung-pien* 24 passim, *Ming-ch'ing shih liao* 2 119, 138, 171, 4 311, 7 671, *Hsi pei ti i so-wu yuan pan-yueh k'an* (Semi monthly Publication of the First Museum of Hopei) no 23 (Aug 25, 1932) gives a photograph of a T'i pen of 1635

T'I-TSOU 題奏 MEMORIALS

T'i pen and Tsou pen considered together as a class

TIEH 帖 ORDER

Addressed by superior to subordinate officials, MAYERS 140, no examples found

TIEH-CH'ENG 帖呈 REPORT

Addressed by subordinate to superior officials, MAYERS 140, no examples found

T'IEH-HUANG 貼黃 SUMMARY

Lit yellow sticker, a slip of paper attached to a memorial (T'ī-pên) at the end, bearing a summary of the contents to facilitate reference, not allowed to exceed one hundred characters, cf. SHAN Shih-k'uei (1) 185 quoted under T'ī-pên above Cf *Kuang-hsu hui-tien* 69 13 "On a separate sheet of paper there is copied a selection of the important statements in the memorial, which is pasted on at the end of the memorial and is called a T'ieh-huang", also *Ch'ien lung hui-tien* 81. 14 SHAN Shih-yuan (1) 151 states that the term was not confined to summaries made for T'ī-pên but applied to all ordinary public documents written on yellow silk or paper and presented for imperial inspection A form of T'ieh-huang was also used by the Board of War, and by usage the term was applied to summaries not written on yellow paper. T'ieh huang were eventually bound up to form the Shih-shu, q v.

T'ING-CHI 廷寄 COURT LETTER

In general, a secret document sent from the Grand Council to provincial officials embodying in its text imperial commands, used only on important business Included two sub types (1) Tzū-chi, sent to provincial officials of higher rank, and (2) Ch'uan-yü, sent to provincial officials of lower rank, s v

Cf *Chia ch'ing hui tien* 3 2b "Either an urgent Edict or a secret Edict, which is not handed down publicly through the Grand Secretariat, is called a Court Letter [It is sealed by the Grand Council and given to the Courier's Office for transmission at a certain rate of speed] As to its form, if it goes to a Generalissimo, an Imperial Commissioner, a General in chief, an Amban, a Lieut General, a Deputy Lieut-General, an Imperial Agent and Commandant of the Forces, a Governor-General, a Governor, or a Literary Chancellor,—it is called a 'Despatch (Tzū chi) sent by the Grand Council' If it goes to a Salt-Controller, a Superintendent of Customs, or a provincial Judicial or Financial Commissioner,—it is called a 'Transmitted Edict (Ch'uan-yü) from the Grand Council' Both bear the year, month, and day on which the imperial will was received" Cf also *Shu-yuan chi lueh* 27 3a b The statement in GILES 11, 284 defining T'ing chi as "a

confidential letter sent directly from the palace to the highest provincial officials, with instructions for their guidance in important matters," thus refers really to the sub form Tzu-chü

Ex *Wen hsien ts'ung-pien* 14, sec 2 9b, *Shih hao hsun k'an* 3 101a, 102a, headed T'ing-chü and reading chun chü ta-ch'ên tzu-chü 軍機大臣字寄 All those printed in id appear to be Tzū chü rather than Ch'uan yü, they conclude with the phrase tsun chih chü hsin ch'ien lai 遵旨寄信前來 (in obedience to the imperial will a letter is sent forward), cf id 5 153b Thus it is apparent that the form of T'ing-chü addressed to the higher provincial officials (i.e. Tzu chü) came to stand for T'ing-chü as a whole

TS Ê 冊 PATENT

Used for establishing the titles of an Empress, imperial concubine, and the like, of various types cf *Chia ch'ing hui tien* 2 2a

Ex Boston Museum of Fine Arts, loaned from coll of M KAROLIK, 230 38 "Jade book" of 1723

TSO-MING-CH IH 坐名敕 NOMINATIVE COMMAND

From the Emperor to higher provincial officials and the dependencies of the empire, see under Ch'ih yü

TSOU-CHÊ 奏摺 MEMORIAL

Same as Tsou pen, q 1

TSOU HSIAO-TS Ê 奏銷冊 ACCOUNTS REPORTS

See under Huang ts'ê

TSOU PÊ\ 奏本 MEMORIAL

Also called Tsou-che and Che tsou memorials submitted to the Emperor usually through the Chancery of Memorials to the Emperor (Tsou Shih Chü) on important public business or the private business of the memorialist and not bearing his seal of office—as contrasted with T'ü pen q 1 For the long battle between the two chief forms of memorial, see text section 2 note 10 In general the Tsou pen was a more direct simple and expeditious type of memorial usually more valuable historically but unfortunately less highly differentiated than T'ü pen into sub

categories susceptible of study For the procedure followed in presenting Tsou pên, see text section 3

Ex the memorials printed in *I-wu shih-mo* throughout consist almost entirely of Tsou pên, *Shih hao ts'ung k'an ch'u-pien* 2 publishes Tsou pên dated from 1632 on, *Shih hao hsun k'an* passim prints several Tsou-pên originating from the Grand Council (chun chi ch'u tsou)

TSOU-P IEN 奏片 SHORT MEMORIAL MINUTE?

P'ien tsou also appears, see under P'ien Evidently a short memorial or "minute," usually in response to a Rescript, cf TÊNG Chih ch'êng 195

Ex *Shih hao hsun k'an* 3 99a et seq, *Chank lu ts'ung pien* 7 sec 1 42b

T UNG-PÊN 通本 MEMORIAL

Memorials of the T'î pên type from the higher provincial authorities submitted through the Transmission Office (T'ung Chêng Ssu) and the Grand Secretariat Usually submitted only in Chinese, a Manchu translation being made at the Grand Secretariat, cf Hsü (1) 186 Cf *Chia ch'ing hui tien* 2 6a "Memorials from the Generals in Chief, Governors General, Governors, provincial Commanders in chief, Brigade Generals, Literary Chancellors, and Salt Controllers of the various provinces, from the Prefects of the Metropolitan Prefecture and of Mukden, and from the Five Boards at Mukden, all of which are sent to the Transmission Office and from the Transmission Office to the Grand Secretariat,—are Tung pen"

TZÜ 咨 COMMUNICATION

Used between officials of equal or approximately equal rank, MAYERS 138, GILES 12, 344, sent to the Grand Council in particular from other offices at the capital and in the provinces Used in many compounds see below

Ex *I-wu shih mo*, Tao kuang section 67 48b, from General-in-Chief to Governor General, id 68 34a, from Board of Revenue to Governor General

TZŪ-CH'ENG 咨呈 COMMUNICATION

Addressed from one official or office to another slightly superior in rank, MAYERS 139, from an official or office not directly subordinate, *Fa lu ta tz'u shu* 875, GILES 12,344 states, "to submit to the consideration of,—used (e g) by an officer while temporarily holding a higher appointment than his own, to a high official, provided that his personal rank allows of the use of a Tzū in correspondence"

Ex *Shih liao hsun k'an* 13 472a, from the substantive Shantung Governor to the Grand Council in 1832, *Ming ch'ing shih liao* 7 679, from the Board of Ceremony to the Grand Secretariat

TZŪ CHI 字寄 DESPATCH

Sent from the Grand Council to higher provincial authorities and embodying important imperial commands, a form of T'ing-chi, 9 3

Ex *Chang ku ts'ung pien* 2, sec 2, an example sent under the name of a Grand Secretary (i e concurrently a Grand Councillor), *Shih liao hsun k'an* 5 153

TZU HUI 咨會 COMMUNICATION

An official despatch between equals, GILES 12, 344

Ex *Shih liao hsun k'an* 4 110a, draft copy of a communication to Annam, Yung-cheng period (this seems inconsistent with GILES), *I-wu shih-mo*, Tao kuang section 67 46b, from one Governor General to another, id, Hsien feng period 42 241 line 7, from an Imperial Commissioner to the American chieftain

TZŪ HSING 咨行 COMMUNICATION

An official despatch between equals, GILES 12, 344

Ex *I-wu shih-mo*, Tao kuang section 67 7b from Governor General to Superintendent of Customs

TZU PAO 咨報 COMMUNICATION

A report, as from a Minister to the Foreign Office, GILES 12, 344

Ex *Shih liao hsun k'an* 13 474b reference to a Tzu pao to the Shantung Governor from the Tengchow Brigade General

TZŪ-WÊN 咨文 COMMUNICATION

An official despatch between equals, GILES 12, 344.

Ex.: *Ming-ch'ing shih-liao* 8. 701, from the Board of War to the Board of Revenue.

TZU-YÜ 字諭 ORDER

To inferiors, especially from officials to commoners, a general term for letters.

Ex.: *Shih-liao hsün-k'an* 5. 168-9, three examples from the Chinese authorities to British merchants in 1822, *Wên-hsien ts'ung-pien* 1, photograph of a Tzū-yu from the Yung-chêng Emperor.

YU-TSOU 又奏 ADDITIONAL MEMORIAL

Not a separate type of document; when one memorialist submits more than one memorial at a time, those after the first bear this heading, sometimes followed by tsai 再 (further) as in the case of Fu-p'ien, q. v. Edicts are similarly treated (yu-yu).

Ex.: *I-wu shih-mo* passim.

YÜ 諭 Imperial EDICT

A strong case could be made for translating this term as Instruction, by analogy to western procedure, but since it is the best known and most important of all documents issuing from the Emperor, it seems particularly desirable to follow the traditional usage. The early British officials like T. F. WADE usually translated it Decree; but Dr. H. B. MORSE and others since then have generally used Edict. Being a separate document, an Edict usually opens with a summary of a memorial or of previous business, it may be addressed to the Grand Council, or the Grand Secretariat, or others, or to no one at all. Discussed in text above, section 3

YÜ-CHIH 諭旨 Imperial EDICT

A general term used to refer to Edicts (yu) or Rescripts (chih) which have been received.

Ex.: *Shih-liao hsün-k'an* 3. 90b, headed Yu-chih, the text reading nei-ko fêng shang-yu (the Grand Secretariat has received an im-

perial Edict), id 103b, headed Yu-chih, the text reading feng chih (a Rescript has been received)

YÜ-PAO 御寶 IMPERIAL SEAL

Twenty five imperial seals are listed in the *Collected Statutes*, each with a different name and form, cf *Chia ch'ing hui tien* 2 9a 10b "Whenever the Emperor's words (lun yin) are made known, an imperial seal is requested and used" The officers of the Grand Secretariat have charge of their use, together with the palace eunuchs, who have charge of their safe-keeping For each occasion when a seal is to be used a memorial must be presented, except for the conferring of patents (Kao ming, Ch'ih ming, and Ch'ih shu) *Ch'ien lung hui tien* 2 5b states that requests for a seal are merely presented to the Imperial Household Department The subject merits further study, cf W FUCHS, *Beitrage zur mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*, Tokyo 1936, 108 11 Ex *Chiao t'ai tien pao-p'u* (Imperial seals in the Chiao t'ai hall), gives photographic reproductions of the twenty five seals

YÜ-P'I 御批 IMPERIAL ENDORSEMENT

Same as Chu p'i, q v

Ex *Shih hao hsun-k'an* 7 236b

YÜ-TIEH 玉牒 IMPERIAL GENEALOGY

Lit jade record, the genealogical record of the imperial family, GILES 11,122, cf *Ch'ien lung hui tien* 1 (the Imperial Clan Court) 1b

Ex *Wên hsien ts'ung-pien* 20 22 gives a photographic illustration

WAI FAN PIAO-CHANG 外藩 TRIBUTARY MEMORIAL

See under *Kung piao* and *Piao-chang* memorials submitted to the Emperor by the political or religious dignitaries of Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet, etc (wai fan) and of tribes and feudatories such as Turfan, etc, cf Hsu (1) 194 5

SOME MIRRORS OF SUPPOSED PRE-HAN DATE *

MALCOLM F. FARLEY

FIELD MUSEUM, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

In the April number of the *Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts* for the year 1908 there appeared the first, but one, general article on Chinese bronze mirrors ever published in America and almost the first ever published in any European language.¹ It was written by OKAKURA Kakuzo 岡倉覺三, the distinguished Japanese writer, scholar, and artist who was at that time curator of Oriental art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The article was important (and indeed still remains so) from several points of view. At the time it aroused interest in the collection of Chinese bronze mirrors in the Boston Museum, perhaps the first comprehensive collection of the kind in America. It also called attention to a hitherto almost completely ignored and important field of Chinese art and archaeology. For centuries known and prized above almost all other antiquities in China and Japan, Chinese bronzes were at the time almost unknown in the West, and among these, bronze mirrors were the least known. The enthusiasm and interest accorded to the magnificent exhibition of Chinese bronzes from American collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the Fall of 1938 makes it difficult to realize the truth of such a statement.

In this article, OKAKURA briefly indicated the evolution of the casting and decoration of bronze mirrors in China from the Han dynasty and before, illustrating his account with mirrors in the Boston collection. He set down some of the traditional ideas of

* This study has been made possible through a grant in aid from the Penrose Fund by the American Philosophical Society to whom the writer is most grateful.

¹ The first general monograph on Chinese mirrors in any European language seems to have been Professor Friedrich Hirth's "Chinese Metallic Mirrors," published in the *Boas Anniversary Volume*, Stechert, New York, 1906. This work, which has never been superseded, was based almost entirely upon original Chinese literary sources and the collection of bronze mirrors in the Guimet Museum, Paris. It is an excellent summary of the whole field and contains a valuable bibliography of Chinese works.



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the origin of Chinese mirrors and reproduced as a frontispiece and first page of the bulletin a mirror in the Boston collection which he designated as pre-Han. This was an original and daring suggestion since up to that time no Chinese mirror had ever been accepted anywhere, either in China, Japan or the West, as being earlier than Han.

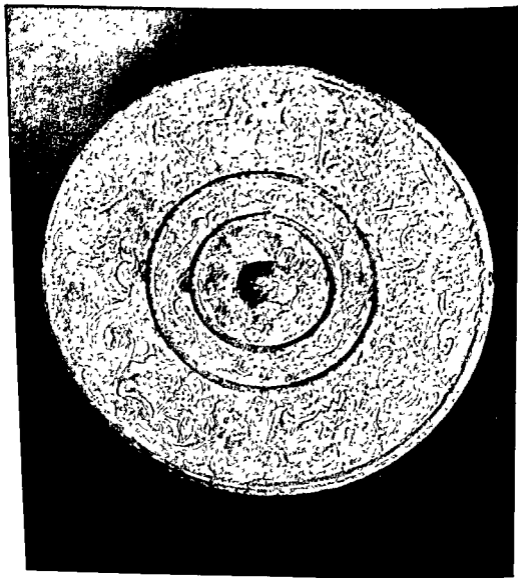
Indeed, up to that time the so-called Hwai or Ch'in style of Chinese art had not yet been differentiated. That long series of articles and monographs treating early Chinese bronzes in general and the Hwai style in particular had not yet been written. Special interest in this phase of Chinese art began about the year 1920, and the series of articles in question was one expression of this interest. Archaeology and the appreciation and collecting of ancient bronzes have been a Chinese forte since very early times. As early as the Sung period Chinese works which have become classic were written catalogues and studies of the bronzes and their inscriptions. In all of these works some bronzes were assigned to the pre-Han period, to the Chou dynasty and even to the Shang. In no single Chinese work, however, has any specific mirror, so far as I know, ever been assigned to a period earlier than the Han although Chinese tradition assigns the invention of Chinese mirrors to a very much earlier date.

In 1920, in Kyoto, there was published a Japanese work on Chinese mirrors *Kokyo no kenkyu*, by TOMIOKA Kenzo 富岡謙蔵, 古鏡の研究, a posthumous collection of fourteen essays most of which had appeared previously in various Japanese journals.* This volume illustrates four mirrors of so-called Hwai or Ch'in type and four of transitional type from Hwai style to Han. Although this volume was reviewed in extenso by Professor Paul PELLIOU in *TP* 20 142 146, and was listed in the Supplement to *Bibliotheca Sinica* 3854 by Henri CORDIER Paris 1922 it has hardly been noticed in the West.

GOTO Momiichi in his volume *Kanshū ikkyō* (Mirrors of Han Type Excavated in Japan Tokyo 1926) 後藤新一, 漢式鏡 also

* Eleven of these essays had appeared three of the remaining were left incomplete. The whole volume was prepared for publication through the efforts of UMEHARA Sueji and a son of TOMIOKA Kenzo.

PLATE 2



*Procured through the courtesy of
Mr Charles B Hoyt Boston*

OKAKURA in 1908. It may be fairly said that this Boston mirror has become classic. It has been reproduced, discussed, and referred to in other studies of Chinese bronzes. UMEHARA illustrated it in his *Ōbei ni okeru Shina kokyō* 梅原末治, 歐米に於ける支那古鏡 (Chinese Mirrors in Europe and America, Tōkyō, 1933) pl. 13.⁵ A mirror of similar type from the Stoclet Collection in Brussels is reproduced and discussed in his *Kanizen no kokyō* 漢以前の古鏡 (Study of Pre-Han Mirrors, Kyōto, 1935), plate 39, no. 3, and in his *Shina-kodō seikwa* 支那古銅精華 (Selected Relics of Ancient Chinese Bronzes from Collections in Europe and America, 7 vols., pt. 2, vol. 2, plate 160, Yamanaka and Co., Ōsaka, 1933).⁶

It is a sufficiently rare type. For thirty years the Boston specimen was the only one known in America. Recently a second specimen has been exhibited in the Fogg Museum at Harvard by Mr. Charles B. Hoyt of Cambridge, Massachusetts. At least one specimen of this type is known in Japan, and was illustrated in GOTŌ Moriichi's book, page 759, ill. 603. Mr. R. W. SWALLOW's *Ancient Chinese Bronze Mirrors* (Henri Vetch, Peiping, 1937) illustrates a specimen (ill. 601) from the collection of Monsieur Henri LAMBERT of Shanghai. This specimen is labelled under the illustration as coming from Loyang and curiously enough it is called "probably T'ang." The mirror is not discussed in the text or even referred

⁵ The title of this Japanese work has been variously rendered into English.

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My article was entirely written before I became aware of Professor UMEHARA's opinion, for his works have not always been at my disposal. I am now most happy to have it in further support of my own.

illustrates a number of pre Han and transitional type mirrors, and discusses them. Koop, in his pioneer volume, *Early Chinese Bronzes* (Ernest Benn, London, 1924), illustrates a mirror of Huan type in the Lumorfopoulos Collection, but calls it T'ang. The West, up to the year 1926, had definitely not become conscious of that bronze style which now goes under the various designations of Huan, Ch'in, Warring States, Eastern Chou, or something else, depending upon the country or the preference of the writer in question.³

In the January number of the *China Journal*, 1926, Mr. ORVAR KARLBECK published a really pioneer and epoch making article, "Notes on Some Early Chinese Bronze Mirrors." This article and Mr. KARLBECK's extensive travels, study, and collecting activities are largely responsible for calling attention to and arousing a more general interest in the West in Chinese Bronzes, and particularly for directing attention to this previously practically unnoticed Huan style. Since this time early Chinese bronzes have excited more interest and attracted more attention than any other field of Chinese art. One needs only to mention the exceptional exhibition of them in Stockholm in September, 1933, on the occasion of the 13th International Congress on the History of Art, the great London Exhibition of Chinese Art, from November, 1935, to March, 1936, the several Paris expositions in the Cernuschi Museum and at the Orangerie and now, perhaps the most unprecedented exposition of Chinese bronzes of them all, the Metropolitan Museum Exposition during October and November 1938.

The Boston mirror was the first Chinese bronze mirror in America to be daringly labelled pre Han and this at a time when so far as I know no Chinese mirror anywhere in the world had been assigned to so early a date. Up to the present this Boston mirror has never, I believe been challenged save by Professor UMEHARA Sueji.⁴ All the other leading experts on Chinese mirrors have apparently accepted the original dating of it as given by

³ Since there is as yet no conformity of usage in the matter in my discussions in this article I shall use the term Huan.

⁴ See note 6 below.

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to and there is no indication of any kind as to why it is called, "probably T'ang." I know of no mirror of this type in any other European collection.

Several years ago, while studying the Boston mirror from illustrations, it came to me suddenly, almost as a conviction, that this long-accepted pre-Han mirror was not pre-Han at all but was T'ang. When I came to America in the summer of 1937 I visited Boston and expressly examined the mirror in question, although through the glass of the case, since it was unfortunately Saturday afternoon and it was impossible to get the keys so as to handle the mirror. However, even this incomplete examination was sufficient. I was convinced that the mirror was T'ang. I have now (June, 1939) examined and handled the Boston Museum mirror, as well as the much fresher and much more recently excavated Hoyt mirror on loan at the Fogg Museum. I am convinced that they are both T'ang and I should like to present the following evidence, and call these mirrors again to the attention of scholars and experts in the field. If these mirrors are accepted as T'ang then this evidence of a knowledge of the Huai style and a copying of it in T'ang times is a discovery of some interest and importance.

I should like to discuss the various features of casting, the style of decoration, and patination in support of my thesis.

(1) *Casting*:—Chinese mirrors from the pre-Han period down through the Sung exhibit a considerable variety of casting techniques and features peculiar to the various types, dates, and localities of their manufacture. When one has become familiar with them, especially from the handling of hundreds and thousands of mirrors, one is not likely to mistake the technique of casting of a Han, and even less of a pre-Han mirror, for that of a later period, the T'ang for instance. A careful examination of the Boston mirror, or of any of the others which I have mentioned of this type will, I believe, suggest to any one who knows Chinese mirrors

¹The description of this LAMBERT mirror reads, "Mirror with modified dragon scrolls, probably Tang Dynasty." I suggest that this has simply been copied from the illustration of a similar mirror in USUIHARA's seven volume catalogue, just referred to, where the description is identical. This would explain the suggested Tang dating of the LAMBERT mirror.

that it cannot be pre-Han even though it seems to be so in design. Decoration aside, the appearance, casting, and general effect of the mirror are almost typically T'ang. A special characteristic and outstanding feature of all the early mirrors, so far as I know them, is their unusual thinness, and for the most part, their great refinement of metal. (There are of course some exceptions to this last general rule.) This feature of thinness applies almost equally to the slightly later transitional Huai to Han types. Not only are the early pre-Han mirrors thin and light in weight proportionate to their size but they are thin and light in appearance. The later Han mirrors and the T'ang mirrors are just the opposite. They are characterized by heaviness of weight and often, particularly with the T'ang specimens, by heaviness of design as well. The reader is asked to examine any series of mirrors or mirror illustrations of these early and transitional types to test these statements by his own observations.

(2) *Flatness*:—A second feature of the Boston mirror type is its characteristic flatness. In this respect it is exactly akin to a whole series of T'ang mirrors of similar character. It is quite true that many of the Huai style mirrors are also flat but they are totally different from this mirror in casting features, and hardly suggest any kinship. The whole series of T'ang mirrors, round, square, foliate, square with foliate corners, and decorated freely with phoenixes, dragons, the toad in the moon, cocks, rosettes, flowers, mythical scenes and a variety of other designs, is essentially like this mirror in most respects except decoration.*

(3) *Concentric raised bands and outer rim*:—A third and very important feature which is distinctly T'ang, is the narrow, semi-pointed and bevelled outer rim and the two very similar and matching inner concentric circles around the knob. These concentric raised rings (either single or double), dividing the mirror decoration into separated fields, are with certain differences a

* Cf. the following illustrations,—plates 75, 72, 66 no. 1, 65 no. 2, 61, 63 no. 1, 61 in UAGIHARA's *Chinese Mirrors in Europe and America; Catalog of an Exhibition of Chinese Bronzes at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, October and November, 1938, Nos. 245 and 255.

common feature of most of the well known T'ang Sea Horse Grape mirrors. In most of these it usually occurs as a single ring but is also sometimes double. T'ang mirrors of exactly the same construction and casting features as the Sea Horse Grape type, but perfectly plain without decoration, frequently have these raised rings, either single or double. Such mirrors are common in China though they occur rather rarely in Western collections because they are plain. I have a dozen or a score in my collection. This Boston mirror type combines two features of two related types of T'ang mirrors, the large, thin, flat character and general casting features of the mirrors referred to in the above paragraph, and the concentric, raised ring feature of the type just referred to.

This type of outer rim is exactly duplicated in the very unusual gold covered T'ang mirror in the Charles B. Hoyt Collection, illustrated in UMEHARA's book (see note 7a), plate no. 61, and also exhibited in the Metropolitan exhibition as no. 369. Many of the T'ang mirrors, silver and gold covered, and inlaid in lacquer, are like this mirror with respect to outer rim and general construction. A T'ang flat, foliate mirror with double concentric rings is illustrated in M. Goro's book *Kokyo shuei* 古鏡聚英 (Pictorial Catalogue of Ancient Bronze Mirrors, Tokyo, July, 1935), plate 8, no. 4. I have one almost identical with it in my own collection. The evolution of bronze mirror casting in Japan shows very clearly the influence of Chinese T'ang dynasty types and especially of the types I have referred to and described above. The Japanese mirrors with phoenix and floral design continue the feature of the inside raised rim as well as the flatness and general construction. This type and the succeeding or Sung mirrors often have an outer rim almost identical with that of the Boston mirror. This is also true of the most characteristic Sung mirrors in China (S. Goro, *op. cit.*, plates 31 to 37).

I have not overlooked the fact that division of the decorated area into a series of concentric zones is a regular feature of many, perhaps most, Han mirrors. But the manner of the division is essentially different from that of the mirror under discussion which is not like that of either Han or pre Han mirrors.* The Hsüan

* There is a partial exception to this statement in the case of the mirrors discussed

mirrors are usually decorated freely over a surface area undivided except for the central knob and a flat or low-relief ring or band immediately around it, the whole being enclosed by the outer rim. Exceptions to this general rule occur in the case of some of the Huai to Han transitional types where a low, bevelled, concave, band-like ring divides the areas to be decorated. These mirrors sometimes present a superficial resemblance to the Boston mirror type but a careful comparison of the two types reveals that they are essentially different.

(4) *Central knob or handle*:—The knob is one of the most distinctive features of the mirrors of pre-Han type. It is impossible in an article of this scope to describe in detail all the various types of knobs of the Han and pre-Han mirrors but I shall indicate for comparative purposes the main ones. (a) *Fluted or ridged*. The most common and distinctive type of knob on Huai Valley mirrors and those of Ch'in type from Loyang and elsewhere is that which consists of a simple metal strap, raised and ridged or fluted. The ridges or flutings are one or two in addition to the sides of the strap which are often also turned up, thus making in all either three or four ridges. Rarely, there are more ridges. (b) *Plain strap*. Sometimes the boss is a perfectly plain raised metal band or strap. (c) *String loop*. In a few exceptional specimens the boss is the simplest most rudimentary kind of metal string or loop, purely functional. (d) *Animal*. A last principal type of boss is what may properly be called an animal boss. Around the central knob is coiled, as part of the mirror decoration, a characteristic Huai dragon. The boss is frequently its raised back.

(e) *Transitional and Han knobs*:—The knobs on certain transitional or early Han mirrors consist of small frog or toad-like animals, of miniature mountains like the hill censers, or pointed bosses surrounded by nipple points, seven or eight in number. Typical

on page 91 of this article, and illustrated in UMEHARA's work there referred to. These Huai mirrors do have raised, milled or sectioned, concentric rings or bands, but the bands are low and thin and thus unlike those of the Boston mirror type. Moreover, these bands are chiefly for ornament, and frequently exclusively so, not dividing decorated areas (pl 23, 1 and 23, 1) but being the decoration itself, save where, as in plate 23, 2, 3 (and other similar specimens) they separate the animal boss, or narrow areas decorated with Chinese characters and fish (UMEHARA, *Pre-Han Mirrors*)

Han bosses are high, rounded or pointed,—sometimes very broad and flat, as in the late Han and early Six Dynasties types. Except for the early Han, or transitional type knobs, the knob itself on Han mirrors is rarely if ever ornamented, or anything but a rounded, more or less pointed, or flat boss of metal.

There are, however, two things distinctive about the knob on most Han mirrors and this also applies for the most part to pre Han mirrors as well. The knob rises from ~~the base~~ which has the effect of being superimposed upon the general ground or background of the mirror. This base is almost like a low platform with the knob rising from its center. A second thing is the fact that while the knob is certainly functional, it is not merely so but in almost all Han and pre Han mirrors is very definitely a part of the whole mirror design and has been conceived of as such. In the very earliest of the pre Han mirrors this is not always so. The knob has the appearance of being stuck on, as an afterthought, sometimes put there purely for use. The gradual evolution in construction and design in the early mirrors and the passing of the knob from something purely functional and necessary for use to its becoming an asset in the general decorative scheme is important and interesting to trace. It often serves as a very important key to the study of casting technique, as well as to mirror chronology.

(f) *Tang and later type knobs* —After the end of the Han period the knob gradually declines in importance and becomes less and less an inseparable and integral part of the mirror decoration and design. Two types of Tang knobs are distinctive and outstanding. The first is the knob usually found on the numerous so-called Sea Horse Grape type of mirror which is perhaps the most popular and distinctive of all the Tang types. Much has been written about the origin of this type of mirror design but the fact is that it still remains unsatisfactorily explained. Although various elements of it can be traced to various sources it seems to have sprung pretty much full blown into Chinese art during the Tang period and to have achieved its fullest expression on the mirror. This mirror type usually, or very frequently at least, has as its knob a small animal variously resembling a sea horse, a

squirrel, a frog, a lion, a dog, a badger—as some critic has suggested—and various other animals. In the finest specimens the central animal is an integral part of the whole design, but there are many mirrors even of this type in which the animal, whatever it be, is more or less stuck on. Many others of the Sea-Horse-Grape type of mirror have a plain, undecorated, nondescript knob of rounded or semi-flat metal.

The second most distinctive and most common type of decorated T'ang knob represents a tortoise with his four feet and tail extended, and very commonly swimming in water, sometimes even resting on a lotus leaf. Other exceptional T'ang knobs represent a lotus leaf rising from a lotus pond, the cassia tree in the Hare-in-the-Moon type of mirror in which the knob is formed by the swelled and bulging tree trunk, a mountain island surrounded by water and lapped by waves—probably the Taoist Island of the Blest—a variety of floral design knobs, and finally the nondescript, often imperfectly formed, metal knob which has no part in the general design of the mirror.

This is the type of knob which occurs most frequently on the large, flat, sometimes square-shaped with foliate corners, often entirely foliate-shaped mirrors decorated with dragons, phoenixes, cocks, lions, flowers, rosettes, mythical scenes and a variety of other designs. It would seem likely that these mirrors were most popular after the middle of the T'ang period and on to the end, even extending down into the Sung. They have their continuation, beyond question, in Sung styles, some of which are almost literal copies while others are a natural outgrowth of T'ang styles.

The knob on this type of mirror, although of the nondescript type which I have mentioned above is nevertheless very distinctive. There is nothing else exactly like it in the whole range of Chinese mirrors from the earliest times down to the end of the T'ang period. The knob is usually an imperfectly cast and imperfectly rounded lump of metal, oftentimes rather flat on the top. This flatness is also almost a new feature in mirror knobs. The knob has ceased to have any part in the decoration of the mirror and is purely traditional and functional. It is there for use only. Moreover, it has another distinctive feature. It is often cast in

such a way that it seems almost to be partly scooped out of the metal base and body of the mirror from which it rises. The body of the mirror where the knob is attached often has a gouged out appearance and is actually sometimes gouged out leaving shallow cavities around the base of the knob. It is quite true that some of the very early mirrors of the pre Han types also have some thing of this gouged out appearance and character but even in this respect they are perfectly distinguishable from the T'ang type in question. The pre Han mirrors of this kind have thin strap like, often fluted or ridged loop bands for knobs while the T'ang knobs, in spite of their imperfect character, show their definite descent from the heavy, well formed knobs of the Han period. The knobs on the Boston mirror and the others of this group are of the typical gouged out variety and could hardly be mistaken for pre Han.

After the T'ang period the mirror knobs become of even less importance and dwindle into almost complete insignificance becoming except for a few which continue the floral tradition of the T'ang mere loops of metal more or less heavy and more or less thick, almost it would seem, as they happened to come from the mold.

(5) *Patination* — This is a subject most difficult to treat. Patination is capable of the greatest variations depending upon an almost infinite variety of conditions viz — the character of the original surfacing, the composition of the original metal, the condition of the mirror at the time of burial and the conditions under which it has lain buried during the centuries such as the nature of the soil, the amount of moisture, the position of the mirror in the tomb or coffin, and other conditions. In spite of all the possibilities offered by such a combination of variables it is nevertheless possible for one who has the opportunity of handling large numbers of mirrors on the field more or less fresh from excavations, to become familiar with what may be called standard types of patination occurring with very considerable regularity, and peculiar to certain mirror types, localities and periods. These patina types are fairly easy to recognize but almost impossible to

describe accurately enough for one to distinguish who is not familiar with them

I have not had opportunity to examine all the five known mirrors (see above, p. 75) of the Boston type. The two in the United States I have studied carefully and I will speak of them. The Boston mirror would seem to have been out of the ground and in circulation for a long time, or it has been extensively cleaned, perhaps both. The reflecting surface is entirely devoid of patination and almost of original surfacing, thus exposing the metal to a degree. Both the metal and what remains of the mercury coating reveal it as a perfectly typical T'ang mirror of the type I have already indicated and discussed. The metal, and coating of mercury are both typically T'ang."

* Some readers will perhaps object to my use of the words "typically T'ang" and will ask the following questions: How do we know what mirrors are "typically T'ang"? What is the evidence for such classification and such dating? Are there any dated T'ang mirrors? It is obviously outside the scope of this article to go into the complicated question of establishing the dating of so-called "typical" T'ang mirrors. I have not questioned the datings of what we might call the "established types" of T'ang mirrors. I have accepted these as pretty generally agreed upon over a period of perhaps twenty years by archaeologists and specialists on Chinese bronzes. The dating of some of these now accepted T'ang types will doubtless, as time goes on, be called into question, but we are by no means completely at sea in the matter, as some readers may be inclined to imagine.

I should like briefly to review the following facts: (a) We know Han mirrors both from actual dated specimens and from other important archaeological evidence. (b) Similarly we know the mirrors of the Three Kingdoms and the Six Dynasties periods from actual dated specimens and from other archaeological data. (c) We know the mirrors of the Sung and Ming periods from similar dated specimens and associated archaeological material. (d) Thus by the process of comparison and exclusion we can fit in the mirrors of T'ang type. (e) But this is not all. We have the very important and very reliable historical evidence of the Shosō-in mirrors in Nara Japan. (f) We have the art styles of the T'ang period as evidenced by the sculptures, jades, silverware and other materials, to serve as an indication of what the T'ang bronze mirror styles would likely be. (g) In *TP* 20 153-154 Professor Paul Pelliot gives a list of dated Chinese mirrors known up to that time. The list is largely taken from the writings of 羅振玉, Lo Chen yü and TOMIOKA Kenzo the father of "mirror science". The mirrors range in date from 10 A D down to 1339 A D. No mirror of actual T'ang date is listed. (h) GOTO Monichi the first Japanese mirror specialist to formulate a comprehensive work on Han mirrors, in his great work, *Han Mirrors Excavated in Japan*, lists 869 actually excavated mirrors along with the other archaeological material associated with the mirrors in question. This forms a document of outstanding importance. (i) Professor Perceval LETHBRIDGE, in his *Catalogue of the Eumorfopoulos Col-*

The decorated back of the mirror is like the face. There is hardly a trace of patination on it. It has been worn smooth and shiny, doubtless from constant handling, shining and wiping, as I have seen so many mirrors worn in China. The condition of the knob is also full evidence of this wearing process. The cord attached to the knob has worn almost half way through the metal knob itself, wearing almost equally from both sides.

The HOYT mirror in the Fogg Museum has apparently been recently excavated. It might very well have come from the ground any time within the past five years. I do not know how long it has been in the possession of Mr. HOYT or the dealer from whom he secured it. In any case its condition is perfectly typical of that of thousands of mirrors that I have seen in China fresh from the soil after the outside dirt and accretions had been cleaned away from them. The mirror, both face and back, is covered in parts with a green rough-surface patination exactly characteristic of the same kind of patination so frequently seen on T'ang mirrors and especially those of the Sea-Horse-Grape and the other large flat varieties discussed in this article. The original mercury-covered surface which shows through the green patina in many places is also characteristically T'ang. I have already mentioned the difficulty of describing the differences of surfacing and patination between mirrors of pre-Han date and T'ang but anyone who will examine a series of each and compare the two will readily perceive

lection of Chinese Bronzes (1929-1930), refers to a list of 62 dated Chinese mirrors from 6 A D to 650 A D (vol 2, p 31) (j) Finally, Professor UMEHARA Sueji has, for a number of years, published a series of articles on *Dated Mirrors from the Time of the Han Dynasties, the Three Kingdoms, and the Six Dynasties* 漢三國六朝紀年鏡集錄. Part five of this series appeared in February, 1939.

Without going into the subject more exhaustively, I think that it will appear that we have ample evidence for formulating our ideas as to what "typical T'ang mirrors" are likely to be. The fact that thus far there have appeared few if any dated mirrors which fall exactly within the accepted chronological limits of the T'ang dynasty is, I believe, easily explained. The styles of mirror decoration which developed and flourished during the T'ang were for the most part based upon nature, were floral, naturalistic or imaginatively naturalistic. Such designs had no place for characters and inscriptions which were so common on mirrors of the Han and Six Dynasties periods. Thus dated mirrors of exactly T'ang date seem hardly to exist. Even the limited and rather rare types which use inscriptions as part of their decoration seem rarely if ever to be dated

the difference and will equally realize that the mercury surfacing and patination of this mirror are T'ang and not pre-Han. The Hoyt mirror is an exceptionally fine specimen and its green patination with the mercury, silver-colored surface showing in many places makes it a most valuable document, and with the Boston Museum mirror an almost conclusive argument for a T'ang dating.

Before discussing in some detail the style of this group of mirrors, perhaps the most difficult feature of all and the hardest to understand, it may be well to give a brief census of the known specimens of this rare type.⁹ During the course of fifteen years' residence in China, and the handling of perhaps fifteen or twenty thousand mirrors there and in the West I have met only these five specimens. I give a brief indication of the dimensions, condition and differences of each.

(1) Boston Museum specimen.

Knob—Imperfectly rounded, slightly flat on top, very considerably worn from both sides by the cord.

Raised rings—The two raised rings around the central knob are smooth, not milled or sectioned.

Patination—Almost lacking and smooth on the face of the mirror, either from cleaning or long handling and rubbing. Back, frequent traces of green patina worn smooth.

Decoration—As compared with the other mirrors of this type, indistinct in its finer details. Minute scroll and spiral decoration very considerably worn or perhaps original casting not clear.

Size—Dia. 5.5 inches. This is one of the smallest of the five mirrors known of this type.

Remarks—In my opinion this specimen is the most T'ang-like of the five.¹⁰

⁹ Two other types are also rare. UAKIHARA (*Study of Ancient Mirrors from before the Han Dynasty*, Kyōto, 1935) illustrates no less than five mirrors of the double Tao-t'ieh type, and there are others not illustrated in his work. I have one specimen myself. I know of seven specimens of the type, Confucius and Jung Ch'ü-ch'ü, and there are doubtless others.

¹⁰ I re-examined the Boston Museum mirror and the Hoyt mirror in April, 1939 and would add the following observations:

Boston Museum (of Fine Arts) mirror (a) *Face*, smooth surface, suggestion of old mercury surface worn off. (b) *Back*, tracts of red and green patination, worn smooth.

(2) The Hoyt mirror.

In the Fogg Museum.

Knob—Imperfectly rounded. Fresh and unworn; unlike the Boston Museum specimen in this respect. No signs of wear from a cord. Slightly gouged-out effect.

Patination—Face and back covered in parts (about half of the total surface) with typical green T'ang-type patination. Patina like that of countless T'ang mirrors which I have seen fresh from excavations.

Raised rings—Minutely sectioned or milled at a slight angle to the perpendicular, apparently imitating cord effect. Only two of the five specimens under discussion have this feature, this one and the STOCLET mirror illustrated in UMEHARA's book.

Decoration—In spite of the patination which covers part of it, this seems to be the finest of all the mirrors except the STOCLET; very clear and detailed, with all the minute scrolls and spirals clearly showing where the original mercury surfacing of the mirror is evident.

Size—Dia. 16.25 cm.

Remarks—This specimen is distinguished by its freshness. It also seems to be heavier in proportion to its size than most of the other specimens.¹⁰

(3) Lambert mirror.

Knob—Like that of the Boston specimen but more perfectly rounded and cast, and less worn.

Raised rings—Smooth, as on the Boston and Gorō specimens; non-sectioned; unmilled.

by cleaning and rubbing (c) *Crack* mold crack (?) extending across the entire mirror a little to the left of the center, heaviest at the lower edge, slight ridge (d) *Design* of mirror back also heavily worn

Hoyt mirror at the Fogg Museum (a) *Surface*, face and back, silver-like mercury coating—typically T'ang—showing through the overlying patination in many places (b) *Green patina*, rather warty in places, on both surfaces of the mirror, front and back (c) *Size*, smaller than the Boston mirror apparently lighter in build and perhaps a little thinner (d) *Crack* running from both sides towards the central knob, but a little to the side of the center. It does not apparently go through the mirror. It cannot be seen on the face of the mirror, perhaps because of the heaviness of the patination. It may also be a mold crack. It is difficult to tell

Patination—Apparently slight, if any. A rather clean specimen.
Decoration—Fine details, scrolls and spirals stand out clearly but apparently are not so sharp as on the Hoyt and the Stoclet specimens.

Size—17 cm. This is the largest of all the five.

Remarks—This mirror is from Loyang and is the only one of the five of which we know the source (except possibly the mirror in the Japanese collection).

(4) Gotō mirror

Size—Dia 6.375 inches

Remarks—Since I am obliged to describe this mirror from the small and poorly reproduced illustration, which in turn is reproduced from a rubbing, I cannot be fully certain of its detailed characteristics. It seems to be a good specimen with details of decoration fairly clear. It is free from patination.

Raised rings—The raised rings are apparently smooth and unmilled.

(5) Stoclet mirror

Knob—The knob of this mirror is unique among the specimens of this type. It is well rounded and high and larger than the knobs on the other mirrors. Moreover, it is covered with a kind of scroll and spiral decoration. The ground from which it rises is also decorated in a related style.

Raised rings—The two inside raised rings are sectioned or milled like those of the Hoyt mirror.

Patination—The mirror has apparently been carefully cleaned or smoothed down but in such a way as not to injure it in any degree. There is abundant evidence of patination in many places.

Decoration—The decoration stands out very clearly in all its most minute details of spirals and scrolls. It is in the best condition and therefore the easiest to study of all of the five mirrors under survey.

Size—Dia 6 inches

Remarks—This mirror would seem to be the finest specimen of this type known. It is identical with the other specimens except for its superior casting and condition.

The explanation of the origin of the style and design of the Boston mirror type is one of the most difficult problems with regard to it. If it is indeed T'ang and not pre-Han, how can we explain its most unusual decoration, unique among all the mirrors of T'ang style and date and apparently quite unrelated to any of them? Nor does it seem to bear any relation to any of the styles of decoration of that little known intermediary period between the Han and the T'ang, namely the Six Dynasties. Even now we know perhaps less about the styles of this long period than about those of almost any other. A few mirrors which do not seem to fit exactly into the traditional styles of the Han or the T'ang are assigned hesitatingly or casually to this Six Dynasties period. "When in doubt, say 'Six Dynasties,'" seems to be the motto of some. Even so, the mirrors in question are assigned to the third century period just after the Han or the sixth century period just before the T'ang. The brothers FÊNG 馮 in their famous book 金石索 *Chin shih so* (Researches on Inscriptions on Metal and Stone), published in 1822, assign a number of mirrors to the Six Dynasties and it is largely following their lead that later writers, Western and Eastern, have done so. Of course a limited number of dated mirrors actually belongs to this period and on this authority mirrors of similar types have been assigned to it. (Cf the studies of UMEHARA referred to in note 9.)

Let us return to the Boston mirror. It is divided into three concentric design areas, separated from each other by raised ridges: a twisted rope design around the knob, outside of this an area of equal width decorated with pairs of conventionalized scrolls, and finally a much wider area decorated with six identical pairs of intertwined animals. The inner design area consists of eleven equal sections of rope, the surface area of each decorated with conventional volutes, triangles, etc., very much the Hui type of design. The next area consists of twelve identical conventionalized scrolls, in the form of an acute angle with the end rolled up, something like the letter L partially bent together. These twelve figures are arranged in inverted pairs, the bases resting, alternately, the one on the inner ridge towards the knob and the other on the next ridge away from the knob. The raised surface area of these scrolls

is decorated, alternately, the one with a rope pattern and the other with a kind of scale or key pattern. The outer, wider, and main design area is decorated with twelve identical pairs of animal heads with long intertwined necks, each of which spreads out as a kind of base support along the separating ridges. A profile view of the animal heads is presented and shows for each animal an identical pair of long prominent ears, a perfectly round eye surrounded by six minute scrolls giving a kind of floral effect. On one side of the eye there is a prominent bulge for the nose and on the other side, one for the neck. Below the eye there is a long extended lower jaw or chin ending in a scroll. The face is very mild and domesticated, not at all like all or most of the Hsü dragons and birds. The profile heads are in pairs exactly facing each other with the faces all but touching from the tips of the forward ears to the tips of the chins. One pair of heads has the chins resting on the inside ridge nearest the central knob while the alternate pair is upside down and has the chins resting on the outer rim of the mirror. From behind the ears of each head extends the long thin neck which is entwined with the neck of one of the heads of the adjacent pair pointed in the opposite direction. This neck separates at the rim where it comes to rest, and spreads out in opposite directions, one arm terminating in a kind of turned up scroll under the chin of the same head from which it originated and the other forming half of a conventionalized scroll just above the ears of the alternate pair of animals. The surface of the raised bands composing all this design is decorated with minute whirls, volutes, triangles, key patterns etc., in Hsü style, and is totally unlike anything that I know of pertaining to the T'ang except perhaps the decoration on some T'ang silver.

It may be difficult for the reader to follow this analysis on the Boston Museum and the Hoyt mirrors but with it he should be able to make out most of the design. If he is fortunate enough to have available a copy of UMEHARA's book he will be able to make out the design without analysis.

The various elements which have entered into the make up of the design of the Boston mirror type can be traced all the way

from the middle Chou or earlier down to the end of the Hui style. Any student or specialist of Chinese bronzes can readily find them for himself by glancing through any comprehensive volume of illustrations of Chinese bronzes. I choose for reference *BMFEA* 6, "The Exhibition of Early Chinese Bronzes." A selection from plates 19 to 35 will serve our purpose. I give a brief summary indication of the plates and numbers where the different elements will be found and leave the reader to search them out.

(1) *The animal's head* Pl. 19, and 24, no. 5. But the dragons on these plates are not the mild, gentle animal found on the mirrors.

(2) *The central knob* On the STOCLET mirror only this may have been suggested by the bosses on the early bells, particularly on such a bell as that illustrated on plate 27. On the other hand this boss may very well have been a variation of the bosses on such mirrors of T'ang date as those in the Sumitomo Collection in Kyoto, as illustrated in the new catalogue of that collection, prepared by Professor UMEHARA and Dr. Kosaku HAMADA with an introduction by Dr. TORAJIRŌ NAITO and an epilogue by Baron Kichizaemon SUMITOMO, and published in Kyōto in 1934, viz., *Senoku seishō* 濱田耕作, 内藤虎次郎, 住友吉左衛門, 泉屋清資, plates 61 and 62.

(3) *Interlaced dragons* decorated with volutes, scrolls, triangles and key pattern. The general style and spirit of the Boston type mirror is strongly suggested by the animal style strap band decoration on the objects on the following plates, plate 27, rim of bell, 30, no. 2, 31, no. 2, 35, nos. 5 and 6. But note that the decoration on these objects is not that of the mirrors. These dragons are wild and ferocious, clawed and perhaps horned, and not at all the mild, gentle animal of the mirrors, and the same is true of most of the Hui and pre Han dragons, birds and other animals on vessels as well as on mirrors.

(4) *Twisted rope decoration* Plate 27, bands of twisted rope setting off design areas. Plate 28, bands of rope around decorated reserves. Plate 32, no. 2, decoration around base. Plate 33, around base and center of body of vessel. Plate 35, no. 6, braided rope

band. This decorative motive is one of the most common and characteristic of the Huai style and the one in which the Boston mirror type approximates it most.

(5) *Milled, raised rings or ridges*. Plate 28, base; rather difficult to see. Numerous other bronzes having these milled ridges could be cited. There are several reproductions of such specimens in the Sumitomo Catalogue cited above. In UMEHARA's work, *Study of the Bronzes of the Warring States* 戦國式銅器の研究 (Memoires of the Oriental Institute, vol. 7, Kyōto, 1936) the following are cases in point: plate 35, *ting*, milled ridge around the middle of the body dividing the decorated areas; plate 96, 2, *chung* or bell, milled ridges, almost identical with those on the Boston mirror type (STOCLET and HORT specimens), separating the various decorated areas; plate 104, *chung*, milled ridges separating design areas, as in the above.

On mirrors this feature is seen repeatedly in its Huai version on such types as those illustrated by UMEHARA, *Study of Pre-Han Mirrors*, plate 25, 1, 2, and 23, 1, 2, 3, and on many other mirrors in the splendid series illustrated in this book. (See also note 8 of this article.) But it is hardly necessary to go to the Huai style for this feature of decoration. It occurs frequently on bronze mirrors of the Sea-Horse-Grape type.

In pointing out above the similarity between the decoration of typical Huai style bronzes and that of the mirrors under discussion I have not intended to suggest an absolute identity. The resemblance is sufficiently close for the Boston Museum mirror to have passed as Huai or pre-Han in style for more than thirty years. The raised milled ridges, the twisted rope pattern, and the overdecoration of minute scrolls, volutes, triangles and key pattern are certainly so near to the Huai, in their constituent elements, at least, as to be almost identical. Not so the animal heads and entwined necks in the outer field of decoration. I have searched again and again the entire range of mirrors from before the Han to the Sung and I have found nothing like these heads. I have examined more than a thousand mirrors of the pre-Han and

transitional types and again have found nothing like these heads. The extensive series of entwined dragons and birds and strap ornament of Huai type presents ample material but the decoration of the Boston mirror type is not among them. Above in my references to origins of style, I have referred to the general effect of the strap dragon decoration on these vessels as suggesting that on the Boston mirror type. The heads on the latter, however, are not Huai even in inspiration. Only their treatment is Huai.

I should like to suggest that the animal represented on the Boston mirror is not only T'ang in origin and inspiration but that it is not a dragon at all but a *hare*. Such a mirror as the very fine one in the Bidwell Collection (reproduced in UMEHARA's *Chinese Mirrors in Europe and America*, Tōkyō, 1933, plate 72, no. 1) of the lunar hare compounding the elixir of immortality may very well have suggested the model for the animal heads on the Boston mirror. A careful examination will, I believe, show how very similar they are. The hare on the BIDWELL mirror is very typical of the numerous T'ang hares and, it seems to me, is very close indeed to the animal heads under discussion. In the first place, these animal heads are distinguished by their prominent ears. These are not as long as hare's ears are usually represented but they are nevertheless very prominent and are flattened out in order to fit into the design of the mirror and the narrow decorated circular band imposed by the rim and the raised ridge. A second characteristic feature of the hare, very much in evidence in these animal heads, is the full, rounded, fleshy face and blunt nose. This feature extends to the under side of the jaw as well. This jaw and nose depart somewhat from the hare tradition and approximate the pre Han dragon type in the scroll effect under the lower jaw which is probably introduced for the sake of harmony with the general conventionalized scroll effect of the entire mirror. Even so, it does not destroy the impression of the rabbit head. Finally, the eye just opposite the fleshy full part of the nose adds to the hare effect.

The group of animals and birds so frequently associated on the Sea Horse Grape mirrors forms perhaps, a more popular class of T'ang mirror than any other. A second and almost equally

popular class is that related group with phoenixes, flying horses, lions, or kilns freely scattered over the undivided open surface of the mirrors, or arranged in single or double pairs. To these may be added other types: Hunting Scenes, Landscapes, Birds and Animals, and the Twelve Zodiacal Animals. In all these seven well-defined classes of T'ang mirrors the hare not infrequently occurs and in the first class named above he is supreme. We may thus conclude that the hare was a popular art motive in T'ang times.

I would suggest then that this animal of the mirrors under discussion may be a conventionalized representation of the hare, rendered by a T'ang artist in his interpretation of the spirit and style of the Hui dragons—so-called. I have already pointed out the possible origin of some of the elements which have gone into the make up of the design of the Boston mirror. But significantly enough the nearest pre-Han parallel to the style of the Boston mirror dragons is to be found, not on pre-Han mirrors but on pre-Han ceremonial vessels. An important series of these vessels showing this parallelism has been illustrated in two articles on Chinese bronzes in *RAA* 8, published on the occasion of the Exposition of Chinese Bronzes held in Paris at the Orangerie. These articles are "L'Exposition de bronzes chinoises, Notes inédites de Charles VIGNIER" (pp. 129-145) and "Les bronzes de Li-yu" by George SALLES (pp. 146-158). I indicate very briefly the resemblance in question.

Plate 42, b. Cover of ting, Siren Collection. Five concentric bands of dragons in design areas (annuli) separated by flat ribbon-like bands. The center is a circular reserve. These dragons are roughly of the same shape as those on the Boston type mirror, but each dragon is separate, not intertwined with the one adjacent to it, and forms a sector in its annulus.

Plate 43, a, c. Two covered ting in the Wannick Collection, Paris. The dragons are similar to the ones just described but intertwined, with repeats of the same. Cf. also plates 411, 451, b.¹¹

¹¹ It is not that the dragons themselves on these bronze ceremonial vessels are so much like those on the Boston mirror type but rather that the manner of their treatment is very similar to that of the former.

The animals on this series of bronze vessels, and their treatment, are by no means identical with the animals on the Boston mirror type but they are sufficiently like them to have been their prototype and to have served as their model and inspiration. In this most unusual mirror type we have a harmonious combination and fusion of T'ang ideas (if we accept the "hare" suggestion) with a style taken from pre-Han ceremonial vessels, and the whole carried out as a T'ang artist would render it, and the mirror cast after a T'ang technique.

REVIEWS

WANG Yün wu, *Chung shan ta tz'ü tien : tzü ch'ang pien* 王雲五, 中山大辭典一字長編 (The Sun Yatsen Dictionary A Long Section [therefrom] on the Character I), sponsored by The Sun Yatsen Cultural and Educational Institute 中山文化教育館, 12 + 478 pp., The Commercial Press, Hongkong, Dec 1938, reprinted Apr 1939, Mex \$5

Since the founding of the Chinese Republic in 1912 the Far East has been producing lexica of Chinese to meet the desperate need for help in understanding the compounds and literary references with which the texts abound. In chronological sequence these books are the following *Tz'u yuan* 辭源 (1915, 1931), K UEDA's *Daijiten* 上田萬年, 大字典 (1917), D KANNO's *Jigen* 簡野道明, 字源 (1923), and *Tz'ü hai* 辭海 (1936).¹ Such compilations, while indispensable, are still merely handbooks for students. It has long been recognized that scholars need something far more vast and fundamental like the basic dictionaries in other fields. *The Oxford Dictionary (A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles)* has caused visions in China. BOHRLINGK and ROTH have inspired Westerners with the belief that they could begin a work of benefit to their sons or grandsons, if not to themselves. Particularly welcome, therefore, is the appearance of this first volume of a monumental dictionary whose publication must proceed, even if American subsidies need to be solicited.

During the last twenty years *The Oxford Dictionary* has inspired at least two lexical projects in China. After a decade of deliberation and some gathering of material, July 1928 saw the opening in Peiping of the *Chung kuo ta tz'ü tien pien tsuan ch'u* 中國大辭典編纂處 (Editorial Office of the Chinese Dictionary). Vast detailed plans were laid and much material has been gathered, but the project is proceeding too slowly.² It is not impossible that from the point of

¹ For a list and critical estimate of dictionaries of the reviewer's *Vocabularies to the Intermediate Chinese Texts used at Harvard University* 2-6.

² The last item that I have seen from this group is Li Chin hai's *Chien-shé-ti ta-chung-yü scén-huach* 黎錦熙, 建設的大辭典文學 Peiping 1934 pp 77. Inserted at

view of dictionary-users, too much energy is being expended in the popular education movement for us to expect a large contribution at an early date. In fact, it may be questioned at this writing whether the whole project is not to be abandoned, for it has lost a tower of strength in the death of CH'EN Hsüan-t'ung (cf. *HJAS* 4. 376, 377) and it is my understanding that LI Chin-hsi, another pillar, is no longer in the Peking area.

The second project has advanced more rapidly and has produced the volume now being reviewed. The history of *The Sun Yatsen Dictionary* is traced in a preface by Mr. WANG Yün-wu, the man responsible for the prosecution of this monumental undertaking. By the spring of 1936 some six million cards of materials had been collected and classified under Mr. Wang's guidance for the editing of a new and much enlarged edition of his *Ta tz'ü-tien* (July, 1930). Publications scanned for material included 221 Chinese dictionaries and encyclopedias, 239 foreign ones, 127 newspapers and magazines, and 1388 other books. Then The Sun Yatsen Cultural and Educational Chinese-Chinese dictionary by contributing Mex. \$260,000 in monthly Institute offered to coöperate with Mr. Wang to issue an epoch-making installments of Mex. \$3500. All known words and phrases are to be included. The material is classified according to Mr. Wang's Four-corner System,³ but there will be indices of reference by the other usual systems. The whole will be in 44 thick volumes, of which four will be given to indices: in all, there will be 34,000 pages; 50,000,000 characters; 60,000 characters and 600,000 expressions will be defined.⁴ The single characters are printed in all known styles in No. 3 type; the phrases in No. 5; the definitions in No. 6.⁵ There are three columns per page, the characters and pagination running from left to right, while the present volume itself contains 5474 entries.

A special bureau was opened in April 1936, and for the next sixteen months everything proceeded according to schedule. August 1937 found the present volume one third set up, but in the ensuing hostilities the matrices for the stereotypes and the types were destroyed. After removal to Hongkong the setting and printing was redone with-

the end of this article is a two-page announcement of publications. *Kuo-yu yun-tung shih kang* 國語運動史綱 by the same author (also 1934, 425 pp. + 20 pp. of index), pp. 200-231, is interesting for the history of this project.

³ Cf. DUYENDAK, *TP* 28. 71-77.

⁴ Mr. WANG then reminds us of the following statistics: *K'ang-hsi tsü-tien* lists 40,545 individual characters; *Chai yün* 集韻, 53,525; *Ts'ü yuan* (3 vols) lists 60,000 phrases.

⁵ *HJAS* uses No. 5 Chinese characters.

out the possibility of referring to the original cards which were "elsewhere" 在他地 (p 11) In closing his preface on Nov 26, 1938 at Hongkong, Mr Wang is naturally pessimistic and feels that for the moment both material and human resources are lacking for the continuance of publication But the mine of information promised by the project demands that work continue Southern China must now contain more men than ever capable of contributing to this opus magnum, the talent is there It is reasonable to suppose that material resources are lacking, and, if necessary, subventions should be sought in America For her part, America should be ready to contribute to this undertaking, if asked, because a better knowledge of Eastern Asia will be greatly facilitated once this set of books is in our hands Mr Wang and The Commercial Press must realize that they have friends in this country who appreciate what they are doing

Too much could not be said to emphasize the value of this undertaking, but in this review the work must be evaluated as a contribution to lexicography Its systematized bulk guarantees such contribution, but as a reasoned and clear exposition in semantics it leaves everything to be desired I hasten to add, however, that this criticism, while appropriate from the point of view of world wide lexicography, is hardly fair to the compilers, who have not had the advantage of sound linguistic training Those Chinese who have enjoyed such training can be counted upon the fingers of one hand, and none of them, to the best of my knowledge, helped with this enterprise Its value lies in the fact that the compilers have remained within their own justly respected tradition We can criticize the mere collection of glosses in the tradition of WANG Yin-chih's *Ching chuan shih tz'ü* 王引之, 經傳釋詞, prefaced March 17, 1798, but this is our best guarantee that most, if not all the material has been included, nothing has been "reasoned out" and put in the discard Let us rejoice that so much material is provided, from which I think we Westerners shall be able to compile a better Chinese English dictionary Some day, the Chinese themselves will produce a dictionary which our descendants will like better but it will not be done by the present generation of scholars They simply are not prepared to refine Mr Wang's ore In fact, it is not until foreign language study of an academic and seemingly non utilitarian type has made deep inroads upon the Chinese scholastic curriculum that China will even begin to produce a crop of students from whom linguists and philologists will be recruited

Yet even this may be wishful reasoning. The linguistics and philology, of which we in the West are justly proud, have their roots in our Hebrew-Christian religion. Languages and words have been studied here from every angle that the Word of God might be correctly rendered into other tongues. Remotely analogous activity, in connection with Buddhism, has been only superficial in China; certainly no school of linguistics or philology developed from it. Indeed, China would seem always to have studied foreign languages purely as phraseology. Their interpreters' handbooks merely equate words and phrases; they are like a tourist's phrase-book; there is no grammar, no analysis. Probably no people in the world has given so much national energy to the study of antiquity and ancient texts, but the Chinese have always paraphrased. They have never translated. It may be, then, that our sounder, analytical approach to language may never take root in China. The writer hopes, however, that in some way it will.

In keeping with the traditional approach, fifty-eight definitions are given for the character *i*—"one." Many of these we should rule out entirely. Others, like Nos. 9, 10, and 14 (總, 統合, 一切; 皆; 均) we should certainly combine into one. No. 12 (第一, 數之始) ought certainly to be included under No. 1 (the numeral). No. 17, illustrating the substantival use, is called pronominal. No. 18 is called a demonstrative adjective! Thus one might continue. But probably no other dictionary will inform us (No. 3) that *i* has been defined 無 in the famous phrase 一陰一陽之謂道 as well as in a sentence in the *Kuan tzü*. Item 58 is a note reminding us that in the spoken language the indefinite article is often represented by the numerary adjunct alone, the *i* being dropped.

It does the heart good to see references on the same page (179) to chapters, stories, or poems in *Ching-pên t'ung-su hsiao shuo* 京本通俗小說, *Chin shu*, *CHU Hsi*, *Hsi hsiang chi*, *Hsi yu chi*, *T'ang shu*, *Mencius*, and *Chuang tzü*.* The whole volume is eloquent witness that China now recognizes as her proud heritage the language of the common man as well as that of the most abstruse classic or of the most subtle poet. Even the gazetteers have been combed for colloquialisms. Everything beginning with "one" is included, from classi-

* The chronological list of 241 works on pp. 5-6 of the preface is both valuable and provocative.

cal or poetical expressions to most complicated mathematical formulae and high sounding scientific terms

The encyclopedic aspect of the undertaking bulks large, but it is not intended for us in the West. We shall be interested merely in the Chinese equivalent of the Western scientific term, not in the long explanations and descriptions. The necessity of printing the volume without the skilled workers of Shanghai has resulted in some errors in the orthography of Western languages. We shall have little trouble in correcting them, but they are provided primarily for the not so well prepared Chinese. A list of corrigenda will rectify this blemish, however, and an early return to normalcy in the Far East will do much to guarantee higher accuracy.

This work constitutes a large item in the long chain of evidence that any dictionary we Westerners may prepare cannot be a mere translation from the Chinese. The work needs to be thought out and made to conform to our own sound philological tradition. Let Mr. WANG's monument, however, continue. His results can only be glorious and majestic. He is preparing a treasure house of information that will be drawn upon for generations. His work will make refinement easier. It will provide the indispensable panorama against which others can compile special lexica.

Since the present generation is incompetent, it is with an eye to the future that the reviewer recommends to both Chinese and Westerners alike the preparation of special lexica, for which work a sound linguistic foundation is indispensable. We need special lexica including *all* the words and phrases, with definitions and precise references, in the writings of any one author; of any one type of collection like the various sections of the *Ch'ou pan i-wu shih-mo* 籌辦夷務始末 (The Complete Account of Our Management of Barbarian Affairs). Once there are several such lexica at our disposal—ranging of course over the Chinese language as a whole and including many different specialties—we can begin to plan the preparation of a genuine Chinese-English dictionary on historical principles. But this work can be only one of *love*, no individual or group can attempt to direct it. Two or three who of their own accord have undertaken the same project, might make publication surer by pooling the fruits of their individual labors.

No list of *suggested items* needs be offered, because the only ones competent for the work are those who know from long experience in the field where the gems lie. A special lexicon is the crowning achievement of a life-time; its compilation can never be a tyro's toy.

J. R. W.

STUDIES IN INDO-CHINESE PHONOLOGY

PAUL K. BENEDICT

1 DIPHTHONGIZATION IN OLD CHINESE

Much of the skepticism with which the proposed relationship between Tibetan and Chinese is viewed by many scholars of the present day¹ may be credited to the haphazard comparative methods which have been in vogue in this field. It seems to the writer that some degree of clarification might be obtained through a delimitation of certain specific problems to be worked out in detail, in conjunction with a deliberate selection of comparative material even at the risk of omitting comparisons that may later be proved to be correct. SIMON's pioneer work² must be regarded as a kind of linguistic omnibus wherein one must carefully differentiate between the more acceptable and the less acceptable comparisons (there can be no sharp line of demarcation). To this nucleus must be added fresh comparative material, largely from Tibeto-Burman languages other than Tibetan (scarcely touched by SIMON), and the whole must be organized with reference to a definite, isolatable, linguistic generalization. The present paper may be regarded as an illustration of this method.

The phonemic system of Old Chinese, which, superficially, offers so many contrasts to that of Tibeto-Burman, is characterized by an extensive system of medial diphthongs of the rising type.

A similar situation exists in Tibeto-Burman, which shows a series of roots with medial *w* or *j* (equivalent to *i*), but these elements play a much less prominent role here. Thus medial *w* has almost completely disappeared in Tibetan, is rather poorly represented in Kachin, and is fully developed only in Burmese and

¹ Notably by H. MASPERO of his review of SIMON's work cited below in *JA* 302 (1933) 74-75 (*Bulletin critique*) and his article "La langue chinoise" in *Conférences de l'Institut de Linguistique Année 1933* (1933). MASPERO takes the justifiable view that the relationship has not yet been satisfactorily demonstrated.

² W. SIMON, *Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen. Ein Versuch* *JHSOS* 32 (1929).

some of the Bodo and Kuki-Chin languages.³ In certain final combinations, however, the medial diphthong of Old Chinese corresponds not to a diphthong in Tibeto-Burman but rather to a simple medial vowel, and it is to this group of comparisons that we shall devote our attention.

Of the several types of vowel + consonant combinations in Tibeto-Burman, the medial -i- type has been selected as offering the greatest number of comparisons with Chinese. The medial -i- group is fully represented in Tibetan, which has final -ig, -id, -ib and the corresponding nasals -iñ, -in, and -im. Kachin has a closely similar system, but with surd rather than sonant finals (*-ik, -it, -ip); the final -k is regularly dropped, thus Ka. *mji* "eye," O. T. *mig*. Old Burmese has retained the final dental and labial combinations (-it, -ip, and -in, -im), but the final velar combinations have undergone a peculiar transformation, the regular shifts being -ats < -ik and -ań < -iy; cf. O. B. *ts'ats* "joint," O. T. *tshigs*; O. B. *sats* "small animal of the tiger genus," O. T. *gzig* "tiger"; O. B. *hmjats* "bamboo sprouts," O. T. *smyig-ma*, *smyug-ma* "bamboo," and O. B. *tsań* "to bind," O. T. *hchiñ-ba* (P. *bcin̄s*); O. B. *mań* "name," O. T. *miñ*. A similar system of medial -i- vowels is found in the Thai languages. In marked contrast to this, Old Chinese, as reconstructed by KARLGREN, quite lacks simple medial -i- vowels, and, as the comparisons adduced below indicate, has substituted diphthongs of the rising types, viz. -iě-, -ja-, -jə-.

³ The writer has had the opportunity of examining the phonetic systems of the principal Tibeto-Burman groups and of becoming acquainted with their historical development as traced through comparative studies. This work, carried out in collaboration with Mr Robert SHAFER, has been made possible by a Works Progress Administration project (No 665-08-3-30, A-16) under the sponsorship of Prof A L KROENER of the University of California. Ten volumes of a projected total of sixteen have been completed to date, and the remaining volumes are in varying stages of preparation. These volumes include phonetic tables and comparative dictionaries of the principal Tibeto-Burman languages. Single typed copies of the completed volumes are available at the University of California Library, Berkeley, Calif., and at the Congressional Library, Washington, D C. Because of limitations of space it will be impossible to give detailed evidence for certain reconstructions and generalizations made in this paper but in all such instances the proper support is at hand and, it is hoped, will be made generally available at some time in the future.

Correspondences between Old Chinese -jě-, -jä-, and -jä- and Thai medial -j-, -ä-, and -ě- are given by WULFF on p. 170 of his work on Chinese and Thai,⁴ and examples are cited on p. 29 and pp. 171 ff. Old Chinese medial -jä- regularly corresponds to Thai medial -j-, and Old Chinese medial -jě- to Thai -a- and (less often) -ě-, while Old Chinese -ja- corresponds both to Thai -j- and -ě- as well as to the medial diphthong -ie-. The material is too scanty to permit of any detailed conclusions, though some dependable comparisons are included. The first of these equations (Old Chinese -jä- = Thai -j-) is attested by two certain comparisons: 十 *zjap* "ten" (K. 876), Thai **sip*, and 𐄢𐄢𐄢 *liam* "bend down over, look down on; to control, govern; visit an inferior; approach, near, on the point of" (K. 738), Thai **rim* "near, near the shore; border, edge; to border, hem." A similar uncertainty as to the exact values of the medial vowels involved obtains in the Chinese and Tibetan comparisons given below, in which Old Chinese -jě-, -jä-, and -jä- all stand for Tibetan medial -i-. It may be that an original quantitative distinction in the medial vowel is reflected in Old Chinese, but until more accurate information is obtained on vowel length in Tibeto-Burman languages (no such distinction is made in the two literary languages of the group, Tibetan and Burmese) this supposition must remain without support.

The comparisons between Chinese and Tibetan will be arranged under three headings, according as the Old Chinese diphthong involved is -jě-, -jä-, or -jä-⁵

O. Ch. -jě-, -ie- = T. B. -i-: *

1. O. Ch. 的 *tiék* (*tik*) "bright, clear, evident; bull's eye of a target, aim" (860). O. T. *sdig* (*s*)-*pa*, P. *bsdigs* "to show, point

⁴ K. WULFF, *Chinesisch und Tai, Sprachvergleichende Untersuchungen, Det Kong Danske Videnskabernes Selskab., Historisk filologiske Meddelelser* 20 3, København, 1934

⁵ The Old Chinese forms are cited from KARLGREN, and the KARLGREN number placed within parentheses after the meaning. The Cantonese forms, showing the simple medial vowels, are placed within parentheses immediately after the Old Chinese forms. The following abbreviations are employed: I C (Indo-Chinese), T B (Tibeto-Burman), O Ch (Old Chinese), C (Cantonese), M (Mandarin), O T (Old Tibetan), C T (Central Tibetan), W T (West Tibetan), O B (Old Burmese), Ka (Kachin)

* O Ch medial -jě and -ie-, though distinct elements, are here treated together for the sake of convenience

out; (C. T.) to aim," *bsdig* (s) -sa "the place that is aimed at, aim, butt; goal."

2. O. Ch. 滴 *tiek* (*tik*) "a drop, to drop, drip" (987). O. T. *gtig* (s) -pa "to fall in drops, to drop, drip," *btig*-pa, P. *btigs* "to drop, let fall in drops," *hthig*-pa, P. *hthigs* "to drop, fall in drops, drop from," *hthig*-pa, P. *btigs* "to cause to fall in drops, to instill," *thigs*-pa "a drop."

3. O. Ch. 蔕 *tiek* (*tik*) "root, stem, base, origin" (987). C. T. *sdig* "foundation."

4. O. Ch. 節 *tsiet* (*tsit*) < **tsiek* (phonetic is *tsiæk*) "knots or joints of bamboo; section, division" (1048). O. T. *tshigs* "member between two joints, joint, division."

5. O. Ch. 結 *kiet* (*kit*) "to tie, a knot" (325). Ka. *kjit* "to gird, girdle, as with a girdle; securely (said of tying)," *gjit* "to tie, bind."

6. O. Ch. 吉 *kiēt* (*knt*) "auspicious, lucky; good" (325). O. T. *skyid*-pa "to be happy, happiness."

7. O. Ch. 鑕 *t'siēt* < **t'iet* (*t'snt*) "axe; iron-block" (1227). O. T. *tsid* "anvil" (in Schmidt).

8. O. Ch. 切 *ts'iet* (*ts'it*) "to cut, cut off, carve, mince" (1055). O. B. *tsit* "to split into four parts; to divide into several parts or pieces." Ka. *šit* < **tsit* "to split, strip, as bamboo splits used for tying."

9. O. Ch. 蔑 *miet* (*mīt*) "be without, not exist; nothing, not" (622), 滅 *mjät* (*mīt*) "extinguish, destroy" (621). Ka. *tsi-mit* "extinguish."

10. O. Ch. 瞋 *miet* (no C. reading) "to squint, bad sight" (622). O. B. *hmīt* "to shut (the eye); to wink with the eye."

11. O. Ch. 喋 *d'iep* (*tīp*) "chatter; noise" (225). O. T. *ldib*-pa "not clear, not intelligible," W. T. *ka-dib* "stammering; stuttering," O. T. *ldib*-*ldib* "silly talk, tittle-tattle."

12. O. Ch. 塚 *d'iep* (*tīp*) "battlements; parapet" (225). O. B. *t'ip* "top, summit."

* Ka *tn-mit* (only in the Assamese dialect recorded by NEEDHAM) is the representative of a widespread T B root **mit* "to extinguish" (Nung *is-mit*, Lushai *tn-mit*, Garo *kn-mit*, Abor *Miri mit*) which seems to be lacking both in Tibetan and Burmese; cf O T *med*-pa "not to exist," which LAUFER and other scholars have derived from *ma yod* or *mi-yod* ("not exist")

13. O. Ch. 釘 *tieng* (*ting, teng*) "a nail; rigid, strong, robust" (999), 定 *d'ien* (*ting, teng*) "establish, fix, settle: firm, stable, certain" (1,000), 挺 *d'ien* (*t'ing*) "stalk, staff: straight, rigid" (1003), 莖 *d'ien* (*t'ing*) "stalk; small beam" (1003). Ka. *diy* "to be straight, rectilinear," *kin-diy* "stable" (poetic designation for the earth; also pronounced *gin-diy*), *k'in-diy* "long piece of wood, a pole, or the like, used as a prop" (*k'in* is a preformative), *tiy* "to be firm, immovable."

14. O. Ch. 頂 *tieng* (*ting, teng*) "top of the head; summit" (999). Ka. *puy-diy* "zenith, top," Nung *puy-diy* "summit" (*puy* is a preformative).⁸

15. O. Ch. 鼎 *tieng* (*ting*) "sacrificial tripod." O. T. *tiñ* "a small cup of brass used esp. in sacrificing."⁹

16. O. Ch. 青 *ts'ien*¹⁰ (*ts'ing, ts'eng*) "green, blue, azure" (1085). Ka. *tsiy* "grass, weeds, herbage; grassy, green," *kə-tsiy* "to be fresh, green, raw, unripe and unprepared, as fruit or food." Nung *mə-siy* < **tsiy* "green, blue (of color)." Perhaps also O. T. *rtswa-mjñ* "meadow" (*rtswa* "grass"), and *gsiñ-ma* "pasture-ground, meadow."¹¹

17. O. Ch. 腥 *sieng* (*sing, seng*) "raw meat; strong-smelling, rancid" (804). Ka. *siy* "smell, scent, odor, as of fresh, raw, or unprepared food."¹²

18. O. Ch. 靛 *d'ien* < **d'ien* (phonetic is *d'ien*) (*tin*) "indigo" (1000). O. T. *mt'iy* "indigo" (Csoma); mountain-blue; indigo-colour, sky-blue, azure." Nung *a-t'iy* "green (unripe, uncooked)."

⁸ Cf. also O. T. *steñ* "upper part, top, surface," as in SIMON, No 115

⁹ Tibetan *tiñ* is perhaps a relatively recent loan-word from Chinese

¹⁰ The *Analytic Dictionary* cites *ts'äng* by mistake, the correct form *ts'ien* is given in KARLGRÉN's dictionary of Chinese dialects (p 802), and cf. SIMON, cit. supra, note 114 to p 171

¹¹ The semantic parallelism in this root is striking. The Chinese character is conventionally, and perhaps correctly regarded as signifying "colour of vegetation," and the Chinese use of the word in the meaning "youth" is paralleled by the Kachin *my-tsy* "youth" SIMON (cit. supra, No 114) compares the O. Ch. word with O. T. *ljañ* "green," but the latter seems to belong in a distinct group along with Rong (Lepcha) *tjap* "dark." Ka. *tsay* "black."

¹² The Kachin word may be a Thai loan word, cf. Shan *s'iy* "to be pleasant to the taste, savory, luscious from the presence of fat or oil, to have a strong odor whether fragrant or offensive." In any event, the Shan word must be regarded as a cognate

19. O. Ch. 賓 *piĕn* (*pnn*) "visitor, guest; treat as a guest" (786). O. T. *byin* "pomp, splendor, magnificence (e. g. of kings)."

20. O. Ch. 腓 *b'ĭĕn* (*pnn*) "knee-cap, knee-pan, knee, leg" (786). O. T. *byin-pa* "calf of the leg."

21. O. Ch. 先 *sien* (*sĭn*) "advance, in front, before; precede" (797). O. T. *bshin* "face, countenance" (< "the part before").

22. O. Ch. 辛 *siĕn* (*sn*) "bitter, acrid" (802). O. T. *mchin-pa*, Kanauri *šin*, O. B. *a-sań* < **sin*, Ka. *sin*, Nung *p'a-sin* "liver" < "the bitter part."¹³

23. O. Ch. 盡 *dz'ĭĕn* (*tsŭn*) "empty, exhaust; use to the utmost; use up, finish" (1080). O. T. *zin-pa* (prob. the perfect of an extinct present tense form **dzin*; cf. *zin-pa*, *hdzin-pa* "to seize") "to draw near to an end, to be at an end, to be finished, exhausted, consumed."

24. O. Ch. 兼 *kiem* < **kliem* (*kĭm*) "join, put together, unite in one" (374). O. T. *sgrim-pa*, P. *bsgrims* "to hold fast, force or twist together." Ka. *k'rim*, *grim* "to act in unison."

O. Ch. -ia- = T. B. -i-:

25. O. Ch. 炙 *t'šiak* < **t'ĭak* (*t'šik*, *t'šek*) "roast meat, broil, grill, to heat" (117), 熾 *t'š'i* < **t'ig* (*t'š'i*) "strong fire, blaze, burn; to heat, cook; illumine." O. T. *htshig-pa*, P. *tshig* "to burn, destroy by fire; to be glowing."

26. O. Ch. 隻 *t'šiak* < **t'ĭak* (*t'šik*, *t'šek*) "single bird; of a pair, single, alone, single piece" (1265). O. T. *gcig* (*chig* in compound numbers) "one," *gcig-ka* "single, only." O. B. *tats* < **tig* "one."

27. O. Ch. 束 *ts'ig* < **ts'ieg* (*ts'ĭ*) "a thorn" (1097), 刺 *ts'ig* < **ts'ieg*, also read *ts'iak* (*ts'ĭ*, *ts'ik*) "thorn; to pierce, stab; criticize, blame, punish" (1097), 譏 *ts'ig* < **ts'ieg* (*ts'ĭ*) "to criticize, blame; to ridicule" (1097). O. T. *tshig-pa* "anger, indignation, vexation, provocation," *rdzig-rdzig* "to address harshly, fly at."¹⁴

¹³ For the semantics, cf. P. K. BENEDICT, *Semantic Differentiation in Indo-Chinese*, *IJAS* 4 (1939) 213-229, p. 225. The theory of diphthongization in Old Chinese is suggested on p. 226 of this article.

¹⁴ SIMON, *cit. supra*, No. 33, compares the O. Ch. word with O. T. *ts'er* "thorn," but the series adduced in support of this supposed O. T. final -r = O. Ch. final -g equation is most unconvincing.

28. O. Ch. 輕 *k'üäng* (*hing, heng*) "light, not heavy; slight, easy; frivolous; to slight" (391). O. T. *hgyin-ba* "to look about haughtily, look down upon, slight; (of things) to despise, contemn, neglect."

29. O. Ch. 領 *liang* (*ling*) "neck; collar" (558). O. B. *lan* < **liŋ* "the neck."¹³

30. O. Ch. 鮮 *süan* (*sün*) "fresh; new, fine, clean" (799). O. T. *gçin-pa, gçin-po* "good, fine."

31. O. Ch. 軟 *niän* (no C. reading) "soft, elastic" (668). O. T. *snyin-po* (in Csoma), W. T. *nyin-te*, adjectival forms of the root *snyi-ba, snyi-bo, snyi-mo* "soft, smooth; tender, delicate."

32. O. Ch. 閭 *iam* < **giam* (*im*) "village gate; hamlet" (147). O. T. *khyim*, O. B. *im* < **k'jim* "house."

33. O. Ch. 沾 *t'üam* < **tiam* (*t'sim*) "moisten, soak, imbibe" (1162), 沈 *d'iem* < **d'iem* (*t's'im*) "immerge, sink" (270). O. T. *stim-pa, P. bstims* "to enter, penetrate, pervade, be absorbed in," *thim-pa, hthim-pa, gtim-pa, stim-pa* "to disappear by being imbibed, absorbed, to evaporate (of fluids)."

34. O. Ch. 漸 *tsiam* (*tsim*) "soak, tinge, go through" (1165), perhaps related to the root under No. 33. O. B. *tsim'* "to transude, ooze through, whether out of or into."

35. O. Ch. 纖 *siam* (*ts'im*) "thin silk thread, fine, delicate, small" (1075). O. T. *zim-bu* "fine, thin, slender," *zim-zim* "fine, hair-shaped, capillary." O. B. *sim* "to be disproportionately small, diminutive."

36. O. Ch. 鐮 *liam* < **kliam* (*lim*) "sickle" (374). Sikkim dialect of Tibetan *grim-tse* "scissors."

37. O. Ch. 廉 *liäm* < **kliam* (*lim*) "corner; square, honest, incorrupt" (374). O. T. *grims* "quadrangular, regular, harmonious" (in lexicons).

O. Ch. -iə- = T. B. -i-:

38. O. Ch. 抑 *iək* (*jik*) "press down, restrain" (5). O. T. *gyig(s)-pa* "to be hindered" (in Csoma).

¹³ The O B derivation, which is altogether regular, is supported by Abor *a-liq* "neck," from the Abor-Mini group in North Assam

39. O. Ch. 𑖦 *ts'iap* (*ts'np*) "to whisper in the ear" (1057). O. T. *çib-pa*, P. *çibs* "to speak in a low voice, whisper" (also *çub-pa*, *çubs*).

40. O. Ch. 𑖦 *ts'iap* (*ts'np*) "twist, join" (1057), 𑖦 *ts'iap* (*ts'np*) "repair, put in order" (1057), 𑖦 *dz'iap* (*ts'np*) "bring together; harmony, arrange" (1057), 𑖦 *dziap* (*ts'np*) "to gather" (1057). O. B. *tsip* "to be set or placed close together." Ka. *tšjip* "to be arranged, put in proper order," *šə-tšjip* "arrange, set in order."

41. O. Ch. 𑖦 *ziap* (*snp*) "pick up, collect; arrange" (71), perhaps related to the root under No. 40. O. T. *gshibs-pa* "to put or lay in order," *gçib* (*s*)-*pa*, *bçib* (*s*)-*pa* "to range, compare."

42. O. Ch. 𑖦 *šiap* (*snp*) "damp, moist" (150). O. T. *sib-pa* "to evaporate, soak in, be imbibed (of liquids)."

43. O. Ch. 𑖦 *kiam* < **kliam* (*kpm*) "forbid; restrain, prevent, stop" (555). O. T. *k'rim*s "right; custom, duty, usage; rule, commandment."¹⁶

44. O. Ch. 𑖦 *liam* < **pliām* (*lpm*) "government granary" (554), 𑖦 *liam* < **pliām* (*lpm*) "grain allowance from public granaries, stipend," *piām* < **pliām* (*pwm*) "to receive from superiors" (554). O. T. *hbrim-pa*, P. *brim* (*s*) "to distribute, deal out, hand out (sweet-meats, flowers, poems)."

45. O. Ch. 𑖦 *ts'iam* (no C. reading) "to sweep" (1081). O. B. *sim* "to strike with a motion toward one's self." Nung *šim* "to sweep."¹⁷

46. O. Ch. 𑖦 *ts'iam* (*ts'nm*) "to sleep" (1081). O. T. *gzim-pa* "to fall asleep, sleep."¹⁸

The above group of comparisons, though sufficient to demonstrate the validity of our general thesis, is in no sense complete. The material has been confined to Tibetan and the Burmish group,

¹⁶ WOLFENDEN (Concerning the Variation of Final Consonants in the Word Families of Tibetan, Kachin, and Chinese, *JRAS*, 1937, 625-655, No. 24) derives O. T. *k'rim*s from the root represented by *sgrim-pa* "to hold fast, force or twist together" (vide supra, No. 24)

¹⁷ Cf. BENEDICT, cit. supra, 225-226, that the Burmish word is related is attested by Maru (an archaic Burmish speech) *šam* < **šim* "to sweep"

¹⁸ Cf. BENEDICT, cit. supra, 225-226. For the affricate initial in O. Ch., cf. Dhimal *džim* "to sleep"

which includes Burmese, Kachin, and Nung,¹⁹ but promising comparisons from other Tibeto Burman groups are not lacking, thus, O Ch 凝 *ngiang* (*jing*, M *ning*, *ying*) "freeze, congeal, coagulate" (205), Vayu (in the West Central Himalayish group) *ny*, *ney* "congeal" (in a foot note, HONGSON, the recorder, describes medial -i and e- as interchangeable), O Ch 飲 *iam* (*im*) "to drink" (891), Lushai (in the Kukish group) *in* < **im* "to drink" (cf Lushai *in* "house," O B *im*, O T *khyim*), O Ch 林 *liam* < **khiam* (*lom*) "forest, grove" (555), Garo (in the Barish group) *bol grim* "forest" (*bol* "tree") (cf No 43). Secondly, comparisons involving doubtful reconstructions have been eschewed, thus, O Ch 榛 *tsiën* (*tsun*) "hazel nut tree" (1082), O T *cid* "hazel nut" (in SCHMIDT) (with the final *n*, *d* alternation), 鷹 *iäng* (*jing*) "falcon, eagle, hawk, kite" (287), O T *shyin-ser* "eagle, vulture" (with loss of initial *ly-* in O Ch). Despite these restrictions, the number of good comparisons is considerable, and the general hypothesis of diphthongization in Old Chinese is afforded reasonably secure support. More precise reconstructions must await improved phonetic records of a number of Tibeto Burman groups.

Unfortunately for the advocates of simplacist theories in comparative linguistics, it must not be assumed that all O Ch forms in medial *ie-*, *iä*, and *iə* have been derived from, or are connected with, T B roots in medial *i*. At least two alternate possibilities exist here. The first of these involves T B roots in medial *-e*. Both Tibetan and Kachin have a number of roots in medial *-e-* (in Burmese, medial *e* appears to have been replaced by medial *i* at an early stage), and a similar medial type appears elsewhere, as in Lushai (in the Kukish group). The phonetic picture as a whole with regard to this medial *i* is far from clear, but it seems that a medial vowel approximating *-e* must be included in any scheme of reconstruction for archaic Tibeto-Burman. O Ch lacks simple medial *-e-* as well as simple medial *i*, and

¹⁹The term "Burmie" was introduced by SHAFER who employs it in a somewhat wider sense. The volumes on Burmish, Lolouch, Kachin and Nung prepared by SHAFER and the writer amply demonstrate the close affinity of these three linguistic groups Nung being of a somewhat transitional nature.

has a corresponding set of diphthongs identical to that in the above group of comparisons. The following comparisons may be drawn up in this connection.

47. O. Ch. 蝶 *d'iep* (*tīp*) "butterfly" (225). Ka. *lu-tep* "butterfly" (only in the Assamese dialect recorded by NEEDHAM).

48. O. Ch. 慄 *hēt* (*lūt*) "to fear, terror" (532). O. T. *bred-pa* "to be frightened, afraid, in fear."

49. O. Ch. 悉 *siēt* (*sik*) "thoroughly know, perfectly understand" (782). O. T. *çes-pa* < **çeds*²⁰ "to know, apprehend, understand."

50. O. Ch. 心 *siəm* (*snm*) "heart; sentiment, will, thought" (801). O. T. *sem*, *sems* "soul, mind, spirit," *sem* (*s*)-*pa*, P. *sems* "to think, meditate, muse, ponder."

51. O. Ch. 清 *ts'iang* (*ts'ing*) "limpid, pure, bright, clean; to cleanse" (1085), 淨 *dz'iang* (*tsing*) "clean, pure, chaste; to cleanse" (1199). O. T. *señ-po*, *bseñ-po* "clean, white; thin, airy, transparent," W. T. *siñ-po* "thin, clear," *siñ-siñ* "thin, limpid (of fluids)." ²¹

The two preceding sets of equations, involving medial -i- and -e- roots in Tibeto-Burman, are only to be expected in view of the absence of these medial elements in Old Chinese. The second of the alternate possibilities mentioned above presents a puzzling problem, however, since here the comparisons are between O. Ch. roots in medial diphthongs and T. B. roots in medial -a-, and yet O. Ch. itself possesses two types of medial -a-, viz. -a- and -â-. This type of relationship is illustrated by the following comparisons.

52. O. Ch. 織 *t'siək* < **t'iaək* (*t'sik*) "to weave" (1223). O. T.

²⁰ This type of reconstruction for O. T. final -s, advocated by SIMOV and WOLFENDEN, agrees very well with conclusions drawn by the writer on the basis of comparative Tibeto-Burman studies, for a good analysis, see the article by WOLFENDEN cited above. This reconstruction makes possible the comparison O. Ch. 𦏧 *piēt* < *piēt* (*pat*) "pen, writing brush, to write; a stroke in writing" (1321), O. T. *hbrī ba*, P. *brī* < **brī* "to draw, write," which fits into the series illustrated by Nos 1-21 (comparison first made by Wolfenden, see the discussion in BENEDICT, cit. supra, p. 220).

²¹ SIMOV (cit. supra, No 132) compares O. Ch. *ts'iang* rather with O. T. *gtsaṅ-ba* "to be clear, pure, cleanness, purity," connected with *saṅ-ba*, P. (b) *saṅ* "to remove (dirt, etc.), to cleanse."

10. P. *btags* "to weave," *thag-pa* "rope, cord," *thags* "web."

O. Ch. 息 *siək* (*sik*) "to breathe, take breath" (780).
ak, a-sak "breath, life."

O. Ch. 傑 *g'iat* (*kīt*) "hero; eminent" (365). O. T. *gyad*,
ya "a champion (a man of great physical strength), an
 ..."

O. Ch. 疊 *d'iep* (*tīp*) "to pile on, duplicate, repeat; to
 (992), 摺 *d'iep* (*tīp*) "pile on, fold" (992). O. T. *ltab-pa*,
abs "to fold or gather up, to lay or put together," *ltab-ma*
ld, crease, plait," *ldab-pa*, P. *bldabs* "to do again, to repeat."
t'ap "to place one on another, to add to; to repeat, to do
 ." Ka. *t'ap* "a layer, stratum; a lamina," *kə-t'ap* "to add,
 one upon another, again and again."

O. Ch. 捻 *niep* (*nīp*) "to pinch, nip with the fingers" (670),
iap (*nīp*) "pinchers, tweezers; to pinch, a pinch" (667).
nap "to be pinched, squeezed between two," *hnap* "to
 h, squeeze, compress between two; a blacksmith's tongs."
 O. Ch. 立 *liəp* (*lāp, lup*) "to stand, rise up, erect" (524).
rap "to stand."

O. Ch. 泣 *k'iap* < **k'liəp* (*iəp*) "to weep" (524). O. T.
ib-k'rab "the weeper." Ka. *k'rap* "to cry, weep."

O. Ch. 楫 *tsiap* (*tsīp*) "oar, paddle, to row" (1057). Ka.
 < **tšap* "to row," *la-šap* "oar, paddle."

O. Ch. 蠅 *iəng* (*jing*) "a fly" (632). O. B. *jaŋ* "a fly." 22

O. Ch. 鹽 *iam* < **gliam* (*im*) "salt" (376), 鹹 *yam* < **g'am*
ām) "salt, brackish" (148). O. T. *rgyam-tshua*, *lgyam-thsua*
 1 Zamatog) "a kind of salt, like crystal." Perhaps also O. B.
m "gunpowder, saltpetre," and Ka. *jam* "a species of fruit-
 lt" (Ka. also has *jam* "gunpowder" as a loan-word).

O. Ch. 念 *niem* (*nīm*) "to reflect, think; to study, remem-
 er; to recite, read." O. T. *sniam-pa* "to think, suppose, imagine;
 thought, mind, feeling," *nyam* (*s*) "soul, mind; thought" (resp.).

22 In view of the peculiar types of initial consonants in this phonetic series in O. Ch.
 phonetic is *mung*, which appears also in 蠅 *d'x'jəng*, it is tempting to compare this
 word with O. T. *abran-ma* "a fly." The O. B. word (*jaŋ*), however, can hardly be
 derived from this source, though the possibility cannot be absolutely excluded.

If these comparisons be allowed, we must postulate a very short, probably pre palatalized, vowel of the -a variety for archaic Tibeto Burman. It will be noted that pre palatalization plays a prominent role in the above group of comparisons. A few traces of doublet forms with short (front) vowels can be pointed out. Thus, in connection with No 55 ("fold") compare O T *sdeb pa*, P *bsdebs* "to mingle, mix, to join, unite, combine," *ldeb-pa* "to bend round or back, to turn round, to double down," *lteb-pa* "to turn down, to turn in," *thebs* "series, order, succession" (<"put together"?), *htheb* "overplus, extra, supernumerary" (<"added"?), and Ka *t'ep* "to be close to," *džə-t'ep* "to bring close together"²³. The root **rap* "to stand" (No 57) has a restricted distribution in Tibeto Burman, appearing only in East Himalayish, Nung, and Burmish Loloish, Bahing, in the East Himalayish group, has *rap* "to stand," but elsewhere in this group the word is recorded either as *rep* or *rip*, and Nung has *rip* rather than the anticipated *rap* or *rəp*. Finally, the Thai cognate to the root under No 52 (**t'ag* "to weave") has a short medial vowel (Siamese *t'ak*, more precisely *t'ak*, "to plait"). Note also that O T *sem(s)-pa*, P *sems* "to think" (No 50 supra) has another perfect form *bsams* from which are developed *bsam pa* "thought" and *bsam* "thought, thinking."

In the above sets of comparisons O Ch medial diphthongs are equated with T B simple medial vowels, but it must not be forgotten that in some instances these diphthongs may be original rather than secondary. It is difficult to find material in support of this, but the following two comparisons seem unobjectionable.

63 O Ch *ka pɛn* (*pɛn*) "sign board, tablet, flat, low" (733), *ka pɛn* (*pɛn*) "tablet" (733), *ka p'ian* (*p'in*) "writing tablet, book leaf, essay, book" (733), *ka p'ien* (*p'in*) "a board, tablet, slip, slice, leaf, sheet, card, chip, fragment" (735). O B *pjan* < **pjen* "to be reduced to a level, by some modifications of the surface, or by being so close and thick as to fill up all interstices, a board, plank, a flat surface." Ka *bjen* "to be flat and wide."

²³ Tushet (in the Kukish group) *t'ep* "to fold up" must be referred to this root but the exact relations of *p* of the initials has not yet been worked out. The short medial vowel, however, is of significance here.

p'un p'jen "board, plank" (*p'un* "tree"), *luy-bjen* "a slab" (*luy* "stone"), *p'jen* 'to be spread out and thus flat'

64 O Ch 眠 *mien* (*min*) "to close the eyes, sleep" (629)
O B *mjan* < **mjen* 'to be sleepy, to sleep, to be weak, exhausted, dejected' Ka *mjen* "to pass, fall off, as into sleep or a swoon, to gradually lose consciousness"

In summary, the O Ch medial diphthongs -*iɛ* (and -*ie*), -*iu*, and -*ɔ* may be either original or secondary, if secondary, they may be referred to T B (and Thai) roots in medial *i* or, less commonly, in medial *e* or medial *a*. Since O Ch lacks simple medial *i* and *e*, it is only natural that diphthongs should have been substituted for them. As regards the equation with T B medial *ɔ*, it is probable that a special type of short, perhaps prepalatalized, *ɔ* vowel must be reconstructed, inasmuch as O Ch has both medial *ɔ* and -*i*. More exact equations should not be attempted until more accurate information has been obtained on the quantitative distinctions in medial vowels in a number of T B languages. The present paper has attempted merely to narrow down the range of possibilities, in opposition to the protean transformations of the SROON scheme. Other types of equations are not necessarily excluded, but most of them can even now be regarded as highly improbable. Thus, O Ch 目 *miuk* "eye" (644) has long been identified with O T *mig* 'eye', but the two forms cannot be regarded as directly cognate. The final combination *ɯk* in O Ch has probably been secondarily developed from final *uk* under the influence of a medial palatalizing element, cf O Ch 六 *huk* 'six' (563), O T *drug*, where the medial *r* has palatalized the following vowel. T B **mig* should regularly give **miek* or the like in O Ch, and hence, if one must find a direct cognate in O Ch, he might point to 覓 *miek* (*mik*) 'to seek, look for' (368) or some other form of that type. The common sense argument that *mig* and *miuk* must be directly related may be discounted, since even within Tibeto-Burman an important linguistic group namely Burmish-Loloish has a root for "eye" (*mjak*) that cannot possibly be compared directly with O T and general T B *mig*. Furthermore Gyarung, an aberrant language of the Bhotish (Tibetan) group has *te mnah*

"eye," which likewise is not referable to the general T. B. root but may be a direct cognate of the Burmish-Loloish root. That **mig*, **m̥iuk*, and **mjak* may constitute an archaic I. C. word-family is a point that should not concern us at the present level of comparative Indo-Chinese linguistics. Satisfactory results in this field can be achieved only through a conscious process of selection and organization of discrete facts, and it is hoped that the present paper may serve as an introduction to this general method of attack.

2. TIBETO-BURMAN FINAL -R AND -L

The task of reconstructing archaic Tibeto-Burman has not yet reached the stage at which a complete picture of the phonemic system can be given, yet a few incontrovertible conclusions can be drawn with regard to certain features of that system. Included in the list of definitely establishable features is the presence of both final -r and -l along with a full set of final stops and nasals. These final liquid phonemes occur in Tibetan itself and it scarcely would be necessary to offer any extensive proof of their original nature were it not for the fact that WOLFENDEN, the leading Tibeto-Burman scholar of the past decade, has proposed to regard them as secondary. In a recent article¹ WOLFENDEN has shown that Kachin, one of the better preserved languages of the Tibeto-Burman family, has a single final -n category of words corresponding to the final -n, -r, and -l categories of Tibetan, whence he reaches the bizarre conclusion that Tibetan has undergone an "expansion" of the dental series and that the simple phonetic scheme of Kachin is original rather than secondary. In this connection he points to the -n, -l alternation in Manipuri, an aberrant Kukish (Kuki-Chin) language, and to the -n, -l and -r, -l alternations in the Barish (Bodo) group. Similarly, in his general work on Tibeto-Burman morphology² WOLFENDEN frequently refers to the same alternations, and even writes of the "replacement of final ŋ or n by l" in Garo, one of the Barish group, indicating that

¹ S. N. WOLFENDEN, Concerning the Variation of Final Consonants in the Word Families of Tibetan, Kachin, and Chinese, *JRAS* 1937 625-655, esp pp 647 ff

² WOLFENDEN, *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, London, 1929, note 3 to p 113, note 1 to p 120, the citation is from p 120

he regarded Garo final *l* as secondary. Even in Tibetan itself there are traces of an alternation of this type, but the material cited in this connection is exceedingly meagre. The most often cited example is *sriḷ* and *sriṇ* "silk worm," but the first form is not well attested, a more promising illustration is furnished by *brtson-pa* "to strive, aim at, exert one's self, exertion," *rtsoḷ ba* "to endeavour, take pains, give diligence, zeal, endeavour, exertion"

It is unfortunate that WOLFENDEN should have selected for especial examination the very language (Kachin) in which final *r* and *l* have been shifted to *n*. He was aware of this equation, and presented several examples of each shift. The writer has compiled a list of about thirty of each, cf. O T *dgur*, *rgur*, *sgur* "crooked," Ka *kun* "bent, curved", O T *skar ma* "star," Ka *ṣə gan*, O T *gsal ba* "bright, clear," Ka *san* "clear, pure", O T *hbral ba*, P *bral* "to be separated from," *hphral ba*, P *phral* "to separate," Ka *ran* "to be separated, *ṣə ran* "to place or put apart". The correct equation, however, is Ka *n* < T B *r*, *l* (as well as *-n*) rather than the scheme favored by WOLFENDEN, viz. T B *n* (and *d*, for the full dental series), Ka *n*, O T and other T B groups *n*, *r*, and *l* (through expansion of the series). The reasoning here is of an elementary order, viz. if an original final *n* series had *independently* been expanded in Tibetan and other T B groups the resulting final *r* and *l* series should not be directly comparable and any cross references found there would have to be credited to coincidence, whereas if all three series (final *n*, *r*, and *l*) were original numerous direct cross references should be presented. That the second of these alternatives is the correct one will be made clear by the material arranged below.

In general, T B final *r* and *l* have undergone the following treatment

Tibetan both finals well preserved in the classical language and in the archaic western dialects, but often dropped in the phonetically degenerate central dialects

Himalayish both finals preserved in most groups

Burmese both finals generally preserved in Nung but with a slight tendency toward replacement by *n* as well as toward

mutual alternation; uniform replacement by -n in Kachin, as discussed above; both finals regularly dropped in Burmese and Burmish-Loloish, but perhaps in exceptional instances replaced by -n.

Kukish (Kuki-Chin): both finals well preserved in the Central and Old Kuki speeches; both often dropped or replaced by -n elsewhere; alternation with -n in Meithei (Manipuri).

Mikir: final -r preserved, but final -l dropped or replaced by -i (exceptionally by -r) within the last century.

Barish (Bodo): in Garo final -r is replaced by -l and final -l is retained; the -l < -r shift appears to have been relatively recent, and final -r still appears in some groups, notably in Dimasa.

Eastern Nagish: both finals retaining in Moshang Naga, but in other languages of this group replacement by final -n is the general rule.

It is not feasible to give detailed evidence in support of all the above generalizations, since our primary concern here is the establishment of final -r and -l as original T. B. features, hence we shall confine our attention to those groups in which these elements are relatively well preserved. The examples listed below have been drawn from the following groups: Tibetan, Kanauri (in the West Himalayish group), Magari (a rather isolated Himalayish speech), Bahing (East Himalayish), Nung (Burmish), Lushei (Kukish), Mikir (affiliations mainly Kukish), Garo (with numerous references to Dimasa and other Barish languages), and Moshang (E. Naga).³

Tibeto-Burman final -r:

1. O. T. *kar-skyin* "loan (when respectfully requested)" (*skyin-pa* "a loan"). Lu. *kar* "to secure or demand on certain conditions or by restraint."

³ The following abbreviations are employed T B (Tibeto-Burman), O T. (Old Tibetan), O B (Old Burmese), Ka (Kachin), Kn (Kanauri), Mg (Magari), Bah (Bahing), Lu (Lushei), Mk (Mikir), Msh (Moshang Naga). The Das notation is used for Old Tibetan, but elsewhere a phonetic notation is employed. The standard sources have been used, the Nung forms are cited from J. T. O. BARNARD, *A Handbook of the Rawang Dialect of the Nung Language*, Rangoon, 1934, and the Moshang forms from F. J. NEEDHAM, *A Collection of a Few Moshang Naga Words*, Shillong, 1897.

2. O.T. *skar-ma* "star." Kn. *skar*, id., but other W.Him. groups have *kar*. Cf. Abor-Miri *tā-kar*, id.

3. O.T. *gar* "a dance." Lu. *kār* "to step, pace, stride."

4. O.T. *gar-ba* "strong," *gar-bu* "solid (not hollow)," *gar-mo* "thick (e.g. soup)." Lu. *k'ār* "to congeal on the surface, crust over, be frozen over."

5. Nung *garr* "to abandon." Garo *gal* "abandon, desert, divorce" (in combination only); cf. Dimasa *gār* "to abandon, desert, divorce, forego, leave, resign, omit," Bodo *gār* "to loose, let go."

6. Lu. *kar* "a kind of trap which releases a spear or pointed bamboo." Mk. *kar* "arrow." Cf. Kachari (in the Barish group) *k'ār* "arrow."

7. Lu. *tār* "to stick on a pole, to make or set up a landmark, to hang up." Mk. *tar* "to impale."

8. O.T. *bdar-ba*, *rdar-ba* "to rub, file, polish, grind, whet," *bdar-rdo* "whet-stone, hone." Kn. *dar-zō* "grindstone."⁴

9. O.T. *dpor-ba*, P. *dpar* "to dictate" (in literal sense). Mk. *p'ar* "to order, instruct" (derived meaning).

10. O.T. *spor-ba*, *spar-ba*, P. *spar* "to lift up" (a sceptre, a hatchet, etc.). Lu. *p'ar* "to spread out or hold out (the arms), straighten (the arm), lift or hold up (the arm)."

11. Kn. *p'ar* "to dig (a hole)." Mk. *p'ar* "gouge," perhaps also *p'ar* "to part the hair."

12. Bah. *bar* "to grow, be high, increase, cause to grow" (with suffixes). Mk. *par* "pass, cross, enlarge, extend, expand," also "very, very much." Cf. Abor-Miri *par* "multiply, increase, grow."

13. W.T. *p'ar* "interest (of money), exchange, agio"; cf. Gyarung (an aberrant Eastern language in the Tibetan group) *m-p'ar* "to be for sale (barter)." Kn. *be-pār* "trade." Garo *p'al* < **p'ar* "sell." * Cf. Rong (Lepcha) *pār* "to buy."

14. O.T. *hbyor-ba*, *hbyar-ba* "to stick to, adhere; to be prepared; to agree," *sbyor-ba*, P. *sbyar* "to affix, attach, fasten, stick,

⁴ But Kn *stg-dār* "file" is a Tibetan loan-word (O.T. *gseg-brdar*)

⁵ The affiliation of the Garo word is doubtful, since the comparative material indicates rather that the Barish root had an original final -l

to put on, put together, join; to compile, compose (a book); to prepare, adjust, make agree." Lu. *p'iar* "to plot, conspire, plan," also "to knit, plait, to be entangled" < "to be joined."⁶

15. O.T. *hbar-ba* "to burn, catch fire, be ignited, blaze," *sbor-ba*, P. *sbar* "to light, kindle, inflame." Kn. *bar* "to burn (wood)" (intr.), *par*, id. (tr.). Nung *w'arr* "to kindle, burn, set fire to, consume in burning, roast, bake in ashes." Mk. *p'er* < **p'är* "to toast, parch." Garo *wäl* < **wär* "fire." Msh. *varr* < **warr* "fire." Cf. Miri *par* "to light (as a fire), ignite."

16. O.T. *hbar-ba* "to open, begin to bloom, blossom." Kn. *p'ar* "burst, tear" < "burst open." Lu. *par* "a flower, blossom; to bloom, blossom," *par* "to open (as a flower)," *p'ar* "to open (the hand, flower, etc.), to spread out or open out (as cloth, etc.)." Mk. *par* "petal," *ay-p'ar* "catkin, inflorescence, head of flower, flower." Garo *bi-bal* "flower"; cf. Bodo *bi-bär* "flower," Dimasa *bär-gurü* "to blossom."

17. O.T. *hphar* "board," in compounds, e. g. *sgo-hphar* "board or leaf of a door" < "a flat and thin surface." Lu. *var* < **war* "thin (as bamboo), to be thin." Msh. *ä-vär* < **wär* "thin (not thick)."

18. Bah. *tšwār* "to cut with a knife by one blow." Mk. *tšor* < **tšwar* "to cut, chop."

19. Bah. *tšjār* "to shine." Msh. *roy-šär* "sun" < heaven-shining" (*roy* "sky"). Garo *säl* < **sär* "sun."

⁶ On the semantic side, cf. O Ch 編 *piwen* "weave, braid, plait; to group, classify, compile, register."

⁷ The development of this root in the meaning "fire," as seen in E Naga (add Namsangia, Bampara *wan*, Chang *wan*) and Barish, is found also in Kachun (*wan*) and the so-called Lush group (vide G A GRIERSON, *Kadu and its Relatives*, BSOS 2 (1921) 39-42). In the last named group the earlier languages (now extinct), Andro and Sengmai, have -l where the later Kadu has -n, cf. Andro *wal*, Kadu *wan* "fire," and Sengmai *sel*, Andro *sen*, Kadu *s'ey* "iron," connected with No. 65 infra. The distribution of the word for "fire" is striking in view of the fact that elsewhere in T B the regular root represented by O T *me*, O B *mī* "fire" prevails, the Kachun cognate to this root is found in *mji-p'rap* "lightning" (*p'rap* "to flash"), and *mji t'an tu* "firefly." The root for "sun" (No 19) shows a similar distribution, with Kachin *džan* "sun." Chairel, a small independent language of the Lush type, now extinct, has *säl* "sun" as well as *p'al* "fire" (-l < -r), hence Chairel *t'ir* "iron" (No 65 infra) must be reckoned a Kukish loan-word.

20 Balti (W T dialect) *tshar ma* "old", cf O T *tshar* "time" Lu *tar* < **sar* "old (in age), to become old" Mk *sar* "old, ancestor, grown up, adult, headman, married person"

21 O T *hchar ba*, P *car* "to rise, appear, become visible (of the sun), to shine," *car* "east" Kn *sar* "to lift, bear, carry," *sar ŋ* "to rise" Nung *nam sarr* "sunrise" (*nam* "sun"), *nam sarr k'a* "east" (*k'a* "side")

22 O T *gsar ba*, *gsar pa* "new, fresh", cf W T *car-pa* "young man" Nung *ay sarr* "new" Lu *t'ar* < **sar* "new, to be new" Garo *gi tal* < **sar* "new, fresh," *dal dal* "fresh"

23 O T *ge sar* "name of a flower" (in Csoma), *ge sar* "pistil" (in Schmidt) Mg *sar* "bud, flower, plant"

24 O T *nar skad* "the roaring (of lions, etc)," *nar nar-po* "hoarse, husky, wheezing" Lu *hnar* "to snore" Mk *ɪy-ɣar* "to snore" Cf Abor-Miri *jum ɣar* "to snore" (*jum* "sleep")

25 O T *nar* (W T *nyar*) "fore or front side, forepart" Mg *ɣer, njer* < **ɣjar* "face, mouth", cf Vayu *ɣaru* "face" Lu *hnar* "nose" Mk *ɪy nar* "elephant" < "the snouted animal" *

26 O T *nar-pa* "stalk (of plants)" Mk *nar* "straw"

27 O T *bsnar ba* "to extend in length, lengthen, pull out" (W T), to draw or drag after, trail," connected with *nar-ma* "continuous, without interruption," *nar-mo*, *nar nar-po* "oblong," *snar-po* "long, oblong" Nung *nar* "to pause, wait, detain"

28 O T *mar* "butter" Kn *mar* "ghī (clarified butter)"

29 O T *gjar ba* "to borrow, hire, lend" Bah *džjar* "to lend, borrow"

30 O T *kor* "round, circular," *skor* "circle," *skor ba* P *bskor* "to surround, encircle," *hkhor* "circle, circumference," *hkhor ba* "to go round in a circle" Bah *k'or* "fence" < "an encirclement" Lu *kor* "the layers or rings in the stems of plantains and similar trees," *kor-ɔŋ* "to be hollow, a hollow," *k'or* "to double up (as a leaf), curl up, doubled up or turned over at the edge, dog-eared, curled up"

30a W T *kor* "a hollow in the ground, a pit not very deep," supposedly the same as O T *kor* cited above Lu *lor* "a small

* Cf the Sanskrit periphrasis "hand nose" for "elephant"

valley, ravine," *k'uar* "a hole, cavity." Garo *a-kol* "hole, cave"; cf. Bodo *hā-kōr* "hole," Dimasa *hā-k'or* "a cave, pit, mine, excavation" (*a, hā* "earth").⁹

31. W.T. *hgor-ba* "to tarry, linger, loiter." Kn. *gōr-gōr* "late."

32. O.T. *dor* "a pair (of draught cattle)"; cf. *dor-ma* "breeches, trousers." Mg. *nis-tor* "a pair" (*nis* "two").

33. O.T. *hdor-ba*, P. *dor* < **dār* "to throw or cast away," *gtor-ba* "to strew, scatter; to cast, throw," *stor-ba* "to be lost, perish, go astray," *hthor-ba*, P. *btor* "to be scattered, be dispersed." Lu. *dar* "to be dispersed, scattered abroad."

34. Lu. *dor* "to bargain with," also "a bazar, market, shop." Mk. *dor* "cost, price, worth," *t'or* "to exploit."

35. O.T. *'bor-ba*, P. *bor* "to throw, cast, fling." Kn. *bōr* "to disperse (meeting)." Bah. *war* "abandon, throw away, squander." Lu. *vor* < **wor* "to scatter, throw up, toss." Mk. *var* < **war* "throw, cast, fling."

36. Lu. *sor* "to wring, squeeze." Mk. *sor* "squeeze, wring, press." Possibly connected with O.T. *bcar-ba* "to squeeze, press."

37. O.T. *gsor-ba* "to brandish, flourish (a staff)" (in Csoma). Lu. *sor* "to shake."

38. Lu. *zuar* "to offer for sale, sell." Mk. *džor* < **džuar* "to sell, hawk, fine." The Kukish root here is probably **juar*.

39. Kn. *zōr* "strength." Nung *džūr* "powerful, strong, to have strength."

40. O.T. *kar-lay-ba*, *ker-lay-ba* "to stand, rise," *ker-ba* "to raise, lift up." Nung *garr* "to be awake," *də-garr* "to rouse, arouse, wake."

41. O.T. *ber* "cloak." Mk. *per* "to bind, wind, entwine, enclose; band, bandage, belt, puttee." Cf. Lu. *p'er* "a kind of mat."

42. O.T. *ser-po* "yellow," *gser* "gold." Nung *zarr* "red." Mk. *ser* "gold."

43. O.T. *gzer*, *zer* "nail, tack," *gzer-ba* "to bore into, drive or knock into," *gzar* "peg, wooden nail" (in lexicons). Nung *a-zrr*,

⁹ The differentiation in the medial vocalism shown in Lushei (*kōr*, *k'or* as well as *kor*, *k'uar*) indicates that two distinct roots may be involved here. The form **k'uar*, **k'uar* must be regarded as archaic, since both O.T. medial -o- and Lu. medial -a- can in some instances be shown to have been derived from medial -ua- diphthongs.

a *zr* (prob for a *zurr*) "spike, panji," a *zrr zr*, a *zr zr* "to put down spikes, to plant panjis," perhaps also *də zarr* "knife" Cf Rong (Lepcha) *a zar* "nail"

44 O T *dgur, rgur, sgur* "crooked" (used of stooping, etc) Lu *kur* "to bend down, droop" Mk *kur* "curve, bend"

45 O T *hkhur ba*, P *khur, bkhur* "to carry, convey," *khur* "burden, load" Bah *kur* "to carry, bear," *kur a* "load"

46 Nung *duy k'rr* (prob for *k'urr*) "hole" Lu *k'ur* "a hole, cavity"

47 O T *shyur ba* "sour, acidity" Bah *džjur* < **shjur*, **sgjur* (through palatalization) "sour"

48 Lu *t'ur* "acid, sour" Mk *t'or* < **t'ur* "bitter, to turn sour" Possibly connected with the above root (*t'ur* < **sur*)

49 O T *dur ba* "to run," *hdur ba* "to trot" Nung *də t'urr* "to run, elope" Cf Mk *tur* "to kick" 10

50 O T *hphur ba*, P *phur* "to fly" < "shaking of wings" C T *hphur ba*, id Bah *bjer* "to fly" Nung *p'rr* (prob for *p'urr*) "to shake (as a cloth)," *k'oy-p'rr* "moth" (Abor Muri *po-puir*, id) Garo *bil* "to fly", cf Dimasa *bir*, id The Burish root seems to be connected with C T *hphur* rather than with O T *hphur*, and the Bah root may be distinct, as indicated by Abor Muri *ber* "to fly, float in the air, be wafted in the air"

51 O T *hphur ba*, P *phur* "to wrap up, envelop, muffle up," *spur, pur, sku spur* "dead body, corpse" < "wrapped up body (*sku*)" Nung *p'urr* "skin (human)" < "the wrapping of the body"

52 Nung *tuy brr* (prob for *burr*) "beard, moustache" Dimasa *k'am p'or* < **p'ur*, id

53 Kn *tsur* "to milk", cf Thebor *tšur*, id, Bunan *tšur* "to squeeze out" Bah *tšjur* "to wring" Cf O T *btshir ba*, P *tshir, btsir* "to press out, wring"

54 O T *shur* "snout, muzzle, trunk" Mk *ɿy tur* < **zur* "lip, bill, beak, snout (of pig)" (*tur* in combination)

55 O T *zur mo* "pain" (vulgar for *zug*) Kn *zur gen* "fever"

¹⁰ W Hün shows a somewhat similar root e.g. Kn *doren* "to run," but this root must be compared with the Hindi *dārnā* "to run"

56 O T *zur* "edge, corner, side" Kn *zir* "corner", cf Thebor *zur*, id Lu *šir* "the side (of anything)"

57 W T *sur sur* "coarse-grained" Lu *t'ur* < **sur* "rough (as hur)"

58 Nung *sur sur wa* "to glitter" Mk *tur* < **sur* "brilliance, flare, flash, sunbeam, ray, to shine (as sun)"

59 O T *hur ba* "to grunt (of pigs and yaks)," *sūur-ba* "to snore" (in lexicons) Lu *yur* "to growl" Mk *iy-nur* < **iy-yur* "to growl (as dog)"

60 O T *mur gon* "the temples," *mur hgram* "jaw, jaw-bone, the temples", cf *mur ba* "to gnaw, chew," *rmur ba* "to gnarl and bite each other (of dogs)" (in lexicons) Nung *mrr* (prob for *murr*) "face, countenance, mouthful" Lu *hmur* "point, end, tip, prow," but the general Kukish root **mur* has the meaning "mouth"¹¹

61 O T *hur po* "quick, alert, dexterous, clever, (Ladakh) hot, hasty, passionate" Lu *hur* "to be in heat, have sexual desire"

62 Lu *ur* "to distil, brew (as beer)," *ur'* "burnt (in cooking), smelling like burnt meat, to burn (as meat)" Mk *ur* "to dry over the fire, screen or shelf for drying"

63 W T *kyir kyir* "round, circular" Bah *k'ir k'ir* "round," *k'ir* "to walk about" Lu *kir* "curly, to curl"

64 O T *hdzir ba* "to drop, drip" (in lexicons) Mk *sir* "to filter, ooze, strain (liquid)," *iy sir* "to strain (a liquid), decant"

65 Lu *t'ir* < **sir* "iron" Garo *sil*, id cf Dimāsa *šer*, Bodo *šurr* Cf Dhimal (an independent North Assam group) *šir* id

66 Lu *vir* < **wir* "to rotate, revolve" Mk *vir* < **wir* "all around, in all directions" Garo *wil-wil* < **wir* "turn, rotate, revolve"

Tibeto Burman final 1

67 Nung *al* "to be, be present, remain, stay, abide, dwell,

¹¹ As a less likely alternative O T *mur* may be derived from *mur* the instrumental form of *mu* border limit edge end which would agree very well with the Lu meaning but there is no supporting evidence for a terminative *r* element of this antiquity

possess, own, have, contain." Mg. *āl* "to bear, carry, fetch" (the tr. form).

68. Nung *gal* "to have, keep." Msh. *gal* "to stay" (the intr. form).

69. O. T. *mkhal-ma* "kidney." Lu. *kal*, id.

70. O. T. *gal* "constraint, importance," *gal-ba* "to force, press (something on a person)," *hgal-ba* "to be in opposition or contradiction to." Lu. *kal* "to oppose, contradict."

71. O. T. *rgal-ba*, P. *brgal* "to step over, pass or climb over, leap over, travel through, sail over, pass." Lu. *kal* "to go."

72. Lu. *t'al* "an arrow, a dart." Mk. *t'āl* "arrow."¹² Cf. Deori Chutiya (in the Barish group) *t'āl* "bough."

73. O. T. *dbal* "top, summit." Kn. *bāl* "head, summit."

74. Msh. *ā-džāl* "far," whence Ka. *tsan* "to be far, distant." Lu. *fāl* < **džāl* "apart, isolated, detached; to be apart."¹³ Garo *tšēl-a* "far"; cf. Lalung *tšal-a*, Tipura *kə-tšāl*, id.

75. Balti (W. T.) *psal-ba* "to choose, select." Nung. *rə-sal* "to choose"; cf. *mə-sal* "to recollect, remember, recognize."

76. O. T. *sal-le-ba* "clear, bright, brilliant," *sal-sal*, id., *gsal-ba* "to be clear, distinct, bright," *gsal-po* "distinct, clear, bright, light, pure," *sel-ba*, P. *bsal* "to remove (esp. impurities), to cleanse," *bəal-ba* "to wash, rinse, purge." Nung *zal* "to wash, to be clean," *t'i zal* "to bathe" (*t'i* "water").

77. O. T. *mal* "the place where a thing is, its site, situation;

¹² Old Mk *t'āl*, as cited in W. ROBINSON, Notes on the Languages spoken by the various tribes inhabiting the valley of Assam and its mountain confines, JASB 19 (1849) 183-237, 310-319, Mikir word list on pp 342-349. Mod Mk *t'ai*, showing the typical replacement of final -l by -i. This change must have been completed about 1850, since the final -i forms appear in the list given by STEWART, Notes on Northern Cachar, JASB 24 (1853) 592-701. Cf. the following sets of forms, the first of each set being from ROBINSON, the others from STEWART or modern sources: *lay-ol*, *lay-oi* "plough" (Meitei *liṅ-ol*), *p'u-rul*, *p'e-roi*, *p'u-rui* "snake" (No 03), *dol*, *doi* "push"; *kār-tul*, *tor*, *ṭṭ-tui* "high", *edl*, *sai* "work", *no-tiḍ*, *lō-sai*, *lō-sei* "horse", and *pai* "fence," Lu *pal*, *he-rei* "hail," Lu *rai*. In one exceptional word final -l seems to have become -r, viz. *ṭṭ-diḷ* "younger sister," Mod Mk *ṭṭ-dair* (Stewart cites *ṭṭ-jir-jṭ* "sister").

¹³ The peculiar f- < dz-, z- shift in Lu is well attested, cf. Lu *fa* "offspring" T B **za*, Lu *fa* "to feed," T B **dza*, **za* "to eat," and other examples from less widely extended roots, as in No 87.

also where a thing has been, its trace, vestige" Nung *mal* "mark, trace," *mal mal* "to leave a track"

78 O T *ral gri* "sword" < "war knife" (*gri* "knife") Lu *ral* "to be at war, to war against, fighting men"

79 O T *rol* < **ral* "side," as in *nañ-rol* "inside," *phyi rol* "outside" Lu *ral* "bank, side"

80 Mg *ol* "to finish" Lu *ol* "to rest, to have little to do" < "to be finished"

81 Old Mk *ɪŋ kol*, Mod Mk *ɪŋ-loi* "twenty" < "all the fingers and toes", cf *loi* "all, completely" Garo *kol* "twenty", cf Tipura *k'ol*, id Probably identical with the Kukish root represented by Meithei, Haka *kul* "twenty," whence Ka *h un*, id

82 O T *hkhól ba*, P *bhol* "to save, spare" Lu *k'ol* "to lay up, accumulate, store"

83 W T *phol* "blister caused by burning," C T *phol-mig* "bad sore, ulcer, abscess" Kn *ti pol* "blister" Lu *bol* "a pimple, to have pimples"

84 O T *htshal ba*, P *htshol* "to want, wish, to eat" Bah *sol* "to be hungry," *sol* "hunger"

85 O T *shol* "yak bull," *shol-mo* "young cow, heifer" Lu *šial* "domesticated gayal"

86 O T *nyal nyol* "filth, dirt" Lu *nol* "debris, heap of dust," *hnep hnol* "refuse, rubbish"

87 O T *hjol ba* < **jual* "to hang down (of cow's udder, of the long hair on a yak's belly, of tails, etc)," also "train, trail, retinue," *hjol hjol* "hanging belly, paunch," *hjol le* "hanging" Lu *fual* < **dzual* "to sag, hang low, to be loose or long (as a coat, etc), sagging, long" For the initial, vide Note 13

88 O T *mel tshe*, *mel tse* "watch, watchman, sentinel, watcher, spy" Lu *mel* "to stare at, to look at steadfastly"

89 Nung *jel* "to avoid, move aside," whence Ka *jen* "to go aside" Garo *geel* "to avoid," *gel* "to shun" (analysis uncertain) Cf C T *yol ba gyol ba* "to evade, shun," for O T *dbyol ba* P *byol* id

90 Nung *aŋ k aŋ k ul* "to circle, surround" (*aŋ k'aŋ* "circle"), *k'ul day* "fence, palisade, pen bar, bolt," *k'ul day k'ul* "to enclose with a fence" Lu *kul* "a stockade, fort wall around a

village; to fortify, to stockade." Cf. O. T. *khul-ma* "the bottom or side of a thing" (in Csoma), also Bah. *gûl-o* "river," Abor-Miri *gul-ga* "the outside of the bend of a river."

91. Ladakhi (W. T.) *thul-ba* "to roll or wind up," O. T. *thul-pa*, *thul-po* "dress made of the skins of animals, a furred coat or cloak" < "something rolled or wound up." Nung *rə-dul* "to roll, wrap, enwrap," *hi dul* "legging, gaiters" (*hi* "leg"), *hi dul dul* "to wear gaiters" (lit. "to wrap up the leg wrapping").

92. O. T. *thul-ba* "to tame, check, curb, restrain," *hdul-ba*, P. *btul* "to tame, break in, subdue, conquer, kill." Nung *t'ul* "to rob, snatch, take (by force)."

93. O. T. *rdul* "dust."¹⁴ Nung *p'a-t'il* < **t'ul* "dust," *t'il t'il wa* "to be dusty" (for *p'a*-, cf. *ə-ba* "earth").

94. Lu. *bul* "cause, beginning, the root, stump or foot (of tree), the lower end (as of stick, post, etc.)," but used in compounds meaning "tree" in several Kukish languages, e. g. Anal. Garo *bol* < **bul* "tree." Msh. *pûl* "tree," whence Ka. *p'un* "tree, bush, stalk, wood."

95. O. T. *sbrul* "snake." Lu. *rûl*, id., but prefixed *m*- and *p*-forms occur in Kukish, e. g. Pankhu *m-rul*, Anal *p-rul*. Old Mk. *p'u-rul*, Mod. Mk. *p'u-rui*, id.

96. O. T. *mtshul* "muzzle, bill, beak." Nung *nâ sil* < **tsul*, **ts'ul*¹⁵ "lips" (*nâ* "mouth"), *sa sil* "gum of the mouth" (*sa* "tooth"). Garo *ku-tšil* < **tšul* "lip" (*ku* "mouth").

97. C. T. *shul-shul* "to stroke, caress" (with auxiliary verb). Lu. *tšul* "to stroke."

98. Nung *mil* < **mul* "hair of the body." Lu. *hmul* "hair, wool, fur, feathers," but the general Kukish root is simply **mul*.

¹⁴The existence of a Nung cognate for this Tibetan word substantiates Laufer's view that the latter is native and not a derivative of the Sk *dhul*, vide B. LAUFER, Loan-Words in Tibetan, TP 17 (1916) 403-532, No 9.

¹⁵The substitution of medial *-i-* for *-u-* is characteristic of Nung phonetics (cf. Nos 95 and 98). Since medial *-u-* is sometimes, though seldom, retained, as in Nos 91 and 92, it may be that Nung has retained here an original T B distinction, with medial *-i-* < *-û-* but medial *-u-* < *-û-* but a thesis of this type cannot be demonstrated until more accurate material on other T B groups is available.

Garó *ki-mil* < **mul* "hair (of body)," *do ki-mil* "feather" (*do* "bird"). Msh. *mül* "feather," *kū-mül* "hair."¹⁶

99. O. T. *skyil-ba*, P. *bskyil* "to bend." Lu. *kil* "corner, angle."

100. O. T. *mchil-ma* "spittle." Lu. *tšil* "spit, saliva."¹⁷

101. W. T. *mchil-pa* "a little bird." Nung *tšil* "wing."

102. O. T. *tshil* "fat." Kn. *tsil* "marrow" < "bone-fat."

103. O. T. *bsil-ba* "to cool," resp. term for *hkhrud-pa* "to wash" and hence used in that sense. Lu. *sil* "to wash."

104. O. T. *gsil-ba* "to cut to pieces, divide, split," *sil-bu*, *gsil-bu* "a little piece, a fragment." Mg. *šil* "to split." Nung *sil* "to peel," *šil* "to shave" (prob. the same word, but poorly recorded).

105. O. T. *rnyil*, *snzil*, *so-rnyil* "the gums" (so "tooth"). Kn. *stil*, *til* < **snil*, id.;¹⁸ cf. Thebor *neil*. Cf. Rong (Lepcha) *fo njel*, id. (fo "tooth"). This root has yielded Ka. *wa-nin* (*wa* "tooth"), but a distinct root is represented by Lu. *ha hni* (*ha* "tooth"), Mk. *so-ni* (so "tooth"), Garó *wagam-ni* (*wagam* "tooth"), and Dimasa *ha-rni* (*ha* "tooth") (note the *r*-prefix).

The above series of over one hundred roots in final *-r* or *-l* should be sufficient to demonstrate the original nature of these final elements in Tibeto-Burman. The material is of uneven value,

¹⁶ The root **mul* "body hair," though lacking in Tibetan, is the best represented of all T B roots of this type, with Ka *mun*, a *mun* "body hair," O B *mwe*³, a-*mwe*³,

¹⁷ The shift in O B after medial *-u-* is much like that in Mikir, since in each language final *l* has been replaced by *-l*. Thus, O B *we* < *wl* (found in the inscriptions) < **ul* < *-*ul*, cf. also O T *dñul* "silver," O B *ɣwe*, O T *sbrul* "snake" (No 93), O B *mrwe* < **mrwl* < **mrul* < **m-rul*, the *m* prefix form probably being more archaic than the *p*-, *b* prefix form as attested by the O Ch cognate 聞 *mñen* < **mrul*. It will be noted that original T B *-wl* (-*ul*) and *-ul* have fallen together in O B both having become *we*.

¹⁸ Nung *t'ul* 'spit, saliva,' *t'ul t'ul* 'to spit' may belong here, but a derivation *t'ul* < **t'ul* cannot be demonstrated on phonetic evidence. This type of development (affricate or sibilant to stop) is extremely common in Kukish and Barish, as shown by many of the comparisons included in this series, but is virtually unknown in the Burmic group. The Kachin-Tibetan comparisons put forward by WOLFENDEN, cit. supra, 1929, pp. 70-71, are inexact, and the Kachin dental stop initials must be regarded as original.

¹⁹ The peculiar initial shift in Kanauri was first pointed out by SHAFER in his volume on West Himalayish. Parallels are furnished by O T *snziñ* "heart," Kn *stij*, and W Hum **snis* "seven" Bunan Manchari *nydz* ɿ, Chamba Lahuli *hni*, Almora *hnis*, Kn *stij*, *tij*.

partly because of the nature of our sources, but a number of basic roots are included and most of the comparisons can be accepted without reserve. The results of this study are not revolutionary, since both final *r* and *-l* have long since been postulated for Tibeto Burman, but no conclusive evidence on this point has hitherto been presented. It is hoped that the objections to this general scheme of reconstruction (T B final *-r*, *-l*, as well as *n*) raised by WOLFENDEN will not become a *bête noire* in this new field of comparative linguistic study, and that future research in the field of Tibetan Chinese and Tibetan-Thai relationships will hold to the premise that final *r* and *-l* are archaic elements in Indo Chinese as a whole and that their disappearance or replacement in Chinese and Thai must be adequately explained.

CHINESE ZOOGRAPHIC NAMES AS CHRONOGRAMS

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The chronogrammatic use of some of the terms comprising the Chinese animal cycle in proper names, several examples of which have been discussed on the pages of this journal (*HJAS* 3. 243-53; 4. 273-5), appears, after further study of the subject, to be of much greater antiquity than heretofore supposed. It will be remembered that the majority of instances of such use of cyclical terms was culled from the onomasticon of the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, with the earliest example (in a nomadic milieu) dated in the last decade of the third century. Several corrections to be made to our list necessitate a brief review of the roll of the historical personalities with chronogrammatic names or nicknames enumerated in "Marginalia" 2 and 6. The surest cases appear to be the following:

Rat: KAO Huan, referred to as "rat" by YU-WÊN T'ai, born in 496 A. D., a rat year.¹

Tiger: SHIH Hu, born 294;² Ts'AO Hu, b. 438; HSIAO Ying-ch'ou, spoken of as "tiger" in a prophetic ditty, b. 462; CHOU T'ieh-hu, b. 510, a "metal tiger" year; possibly LI Ling, *tzū* Hu-fu, b. 390.

The name of HSIEH Hu-tzū (*HJAS* 4. 274, paragraph 4) is to

¹ We may have a chronogram, rather than a derisive epithet, in "son of a rat" applied by SUN Ch'uan to KUNG-sun Yuan, the ruler of Liao-tung in 233 A. D. (*San kuo chih* 47 comment, quoting a *Chiang piao chuan*) We unfortunately do not know the year of his birth. He was a small boy at the time when his uncle KUNG-sun Kung succeeded Yuan's father, K'ang, sometime between 208 and 220. In 228 he was old enough to dispossess his uncle of the governorship. It is not, therefore, impossible that he was born in 208 a rat year. The quotation presents, however, a minor chronological difficulty. SUN Ch'uan speaks of himself as having lived sixty years, yet in 233 he was but 51 years old. Either the speech was delivered on some other occasion and someone else is meant by "son of a rat" or "sixty years" is to be understood in the sense of 'going on sixty'.

² Read 294 A. D. for 296 A. D. in *HJAS* 3. 252 line 6.

be deleted from the list. Dying in 491 at the age of 51 *sui*, Hu-tzū was born in 440 or 441 A. D., in a "dragon" or "serpent" year, and not in a year of the tiger as we had incorrectly stated.³

Dragon: LIU T'êng, *tzū Ch'ing lung*, b. 464; HSIAO Yen, "dragon" in a prophetic verse, b. 464; HSIAO Tsê, baby name Lung êrh, b. 440; LŮ Ch'ang-hêng, nicknamed Lung *tzū*, b. 536; LIU Ch'iu if born in 500; ⁴ possibly SHIH Lê, *tzū Chì lung*, if born in 272.

Dog: possibly Yü-wên Tai, if born in 506.

Pig: HSIAO Pao-chüan, spoken of as "wild pig," b. 483.⁵

Many other seemingly cyclical designations used as proper names proved upon investigation to have no chronogrammatic significance, at least so far as the year of birth of the given individual was concerned. Thus, for instance, TS'AO Piao * 豹, *tzū Chu hu*

³ The unpardonable blunder that we committed in computing the date of his birth was caused by an inadvertent transposition in our notes where for his age at the time of his death (51 *sui*) was substituted that of his son Shih tsun 世孫 whose biography immediately follows that of Hu tzu and who died aged 42 *sui*. The mistake was subsequently corrected only partially and our humiliating error in making him "a son of the tiger" resulted.

⁴ In *HSAS* 4 274 line 16, read 534 A D for 534 A D. Liu Ch'iu died in the first year of Kung ti of Western Wei. In line 18 on the same page delete the comma after "young."

⁵ We may have a case of a "son of the pig" in an allusion to Yang Yung, the eldest son of Yang Chien. *Sui shu* 23 records the story of the apparition, sometime about the end of the K'ai huang era, of a big hog, followed by ten little pigs, to some Buddhist monks. This was supposed to forecast Yung's downfall (he had at least 10 sons). It is not improbable that the unfortunate prince was born in 567 A D., a pig year, and was thus only two years older than Yang Kuang. The point cannot be pressed, however, for in the next entry in the same text Yang Hui, another brother, is also alluded to as a pig.

⁶ Pao "striped like a tiger" is not used chronogrammatically here but possibly so in the name of Wang Pao-chüan, *trü Shu wu* 叔武 (especially if *wu* is a Tang substitution for *ku* "tiger"). *Chen shu* 76, who died in 577 A D., at the age of 73 *sui*. He was thus born in 503, possibly 504 which was a tiger year. Pao 豹 "leopard" was used as a chronogram (probably for "tiger") as early as the second century A D. Cf. the biography of K'uo-shu Tu 公休度. *See* two *ch'ü* 8 whose baby name it had been. Tu found protection in the home of a distant kinsman who became attached to him because his own son whom he had lost was also born in a "leopard" year and likewise named Pao. I am indebted for this reference to my colleague Dr. D. von der Grinten.

朱虎 "red tiger," seemed at first a promising "son of a tiger." His biography in *San kuo chih* 20 does not give the date of his birth, but according to *San kuo chih* 29 (biography of the diviner Chu Chien-p'ing), he was 57 *sui* at the time of his forced suicide in 251 A. D.: he was thus born about 195, while the nearest red tiger year is 186.

A true "son of the horse," however, was Liu Chün 劉駿 (pht. Shih-tsu Hsiao-wu huang-ti 430-453-464; *Sung shu* 6, *Nan shih* 2).⁷ His name means "noble horse" and 430 was indeed a horse year.⁸ That the chronogram is not accidental seems to be supported by the fact that his younger brother (by another of the wives of Liu I-lung) Liu Shuo 銑, prince of Nan-p'ing (pht. Mu, *Sung shu* 72, *Nan shih* 14) was known to members of the family as Wu yang 烏羊 (*Sung shu* 99, *Nan shih* 14). Yang "sheep" is undoubtedly chronogrammatic as the prince was born in 431, a sheep year; the date is attested by the *Nan shih*, which states that he was nine (Chinese) years old at the time of his enfeoffment in 439, and by *Sung shu* 72, which gives his age as 23 *sui* in 453 when he was poisoned by Liu Chün.¹⁰

SUN T'êng 孫騰, *Pei Ch'i shu* 18, *Pei shih* 54, 481-548 A. D., may have borne a chronogrammatic name. His *tzü* was Lung ch'iao 龍雀 "dragon-like birdling," the second character possibly referring to the date of his birth 481 A. D., which was a year of the cock.¹¹

⁷ Born Sept 19, 430, asc throne May 20, 453, died July 12, 464

⁸ In his *tzu* Hsü lung 休龍, lung "dragon" is probably to be taken as an epithet of "horse," "dragon-like (horse)" or "dragon among horses," and not as confusing in any way the chronogrammatic designation, while Hsü is the common element in the names of all the sons of Liu I-lung

⁹ Pht T'ai tsu Wen huang ti, 407-424-453 Asc throne Sept 17, 424, murdered by his eldest son, March 16, 453 *Sung shu* 5, *Nan shih* 2

¹⁰ On Sept 17, 453 *Nan shih* 2, *Sung shu* 6 He was the fourth son of Liu I-lung The nickname of the second son Hsün 濬 which was Hu t'ou 虎頭 ("tiger's head") is not chronogrammatic; he was born in 429, a serpent year, *Sung shu* 99, *Nan shih* 14 Shuo's year of birth was a "white sheep," and not a "black sheep," year as his nickname Wu-yang might imply

¹¹ T'ang shu 34 gives us an example of an interesting chronogrammatic association Emperor Hsuan-tsung was fond of cock fighting, this was later interpreted as portending the disastrous wars of the second half of his reign as the emperor was born under

For our next illustrations of onomatological chronograms we must go back a thousand years into China's dimmer past. In *Shih chi* 67, a chapter devoted to the disciples of Confucius, Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien gives in a score of cases the age of Confucius' best-known followers in relation to that of their master. Thus, YEN Hui is said to have been thirty years Confucius' junior,¹² CHUNG Yu (Tzŭ-lu), nine, TSĒNG Ts'an, forty-six, etc. The thirty-fifth and last of that group is KUNG-SUN Lung,¹³ *tzŭ* Tzŭ-shih 公孫龍子石 who, according to Ssŭ-MA Ch'ien, was fifty-three years younger than Master K'ung. If we take the traditional date of Confucius' birth as the end of 551 or the beginning of 550 B. C., fifty-three years later would bring us to 498-497 B. C. In the cyclical chronological system 497 B. C. was a *chia-ch'én* or a dragon year. KUNG-SUN Lung's name, "Dragon," is thus undoubtedly chronogrammatic. His *tzŭ*, however, presents some difficulty. The onomatological rule which prescribed a close semantic parallelism between the *ming* and the *tzŭ* was followed in ancient China very strictly,¹⁴ yet no such connection in meaning

the sign of the cock. Indeed according to *Chiu Tang shu* 8 he was born on Sept. 8 (*mou yin* of the 8th month), 683 A. D., a cock year. Both *Chiu Tang shu* 9 and *Tang shu* 5 say, however, that he was 78 *su* at the time of his death in the 4th month of 760, which would place the year of his birth about 683 A. D.

¹² See, however, note 21

¹³ *Chia yü* 9 has Ch'ung 龔 instead of Lung. He is to be distinguished from the famous KUNG-SUN Lung the logician.

¹⁴ This rule is well exhibited in the names of many of the other disciples. Two of them (of the Ssu MA and JAN clans) have as their *ming* 耕 *leng* "to plough" and 牛 *niu* "ox" in their *tzŭ*, indicating that, at least in the state of Lu ploughing in the sixth century B. C. was done with oxen. In TSĒNG Ts'an's name Ts'an 參 obviously stands for *ts'an* with Dt. 187 "third horse in a team" as indicated by his *tzŭ*, Tzu yü 輿 "chariot" (on *ts'an*, cf. H. G. CREEL *Studies in Early Chinese Culture*, 196-7). Tzu lu 子路 (with *lu* "road") the cognomen of one of the famous of Confucius' followers, suggests that his *ming*, 路 *yu* < *D uG must be taken as equivalent to 路 *te* < *D reh "path" *yu* being anciently a cognate of 道 *tao* < *DaG "road" "way". Hui 回 the name of his favorite disciple YEN Hui, must be interpreted as if the character were written with Dt. 85 (*hui* "whirlpool") to match his adult name Tru yüan 淵 "abyss" "whirlpool". The ancient meaning of 及 (with Dt. 9) *chi*, now used only as a proper name must have been "solicitous" "anxious" (as if written with the near homonym 疾 *chi*, which has the same phonetic) for in the *tzŭ* of both Confucius' grandson KUNG Chi and his disciple YEN Chi it is matched by 思 *ssu* "to think" "to reflect". 思 *ssu* in the name of the disciple Ssu tao Shu must

of *lung* "dragon" and *shih* "stone" is immediately perceptible, especially if we take *lung* as a chronogram pure and simple.¹⁵

Another disciple's name, on the other hand, would indicate that our interpretation of "dragon" in KUNG-SUN Lung's name is not based on a mere chronological coincidence. Thirtieth in the *Shih chi* list stands the name of LIANG Chan 梁鮪, *tzū Shu-yü* 叔魚. The name of that worthy, when used as a common noun, designated in ancient China some cyprinoid fish and, according to P'ei Yin, LIANG Chan was also known as LIANG Li 鯉 "Carp."¹⁶ It is well known that the early Chinese believed the carp to be a sort of embryo dragon capable of assuming the shape of the king of waters upon reaching a certain age or after passing a difficult test.¹⁷ It is thus not unlikely that in the cycle of the Twelve Animals the carp may have occasionally taken the place of the dragon.¹⁸ Now LIANG Chan or LIANG Li was twenty-nine years younger than Confucius¹⁹ and must have been born in 522-521 B. C. And 521 was a *kêng-ch'ên* or dragon year.

If "Carp" LIANG's name is chronogrammatic, there immediately arises the question whether a more famous "Carp," Confucius' son K'UNG Li, *tzū Po-yü*, did not owe his name to the fact that he was born in a dragon year. According to tradition, Confucius married at 19 *sui*²⁰ and Li was born in the year following the marriage. The master's first-born received his name in grateful remembrance of a carp sent as a present by the Duke of Lu. This legend has always been suspect as there is no evidence of Con-

be an old form of 燭 *chu* "torch," "illuminate," as it is parallel to 明 *ming* "bright" in his *tzū* 晝 *chu* in the name of SHANG Chu must stand for the same character with Dt 75 *chu* "rake," "twisted roots of a tree" to be parallel to his *tzū* 木 *mu* "tree." These examples can be easily multiplied.

¹⁵ Should *lung*, then, be taken as equivalent to *lung* (with Dt 170 or 32) "tumulus," "ridge" or *lung* (with Dt 112) "to grind"?

¹⁶ In *Shuo wên* 11B, the two characters are used to define each other.

¹⁷ Such as successfully negotiating the passage through the Lung mên gorge of the Yellow River.

¹⁸ Note that in the early Turkish cycle *balıq* "fish" takes the place of the dragon (HJAS 3 252).

¹⁹ Chia yü 9 makes him 39 years younger than the Master.

²⁰ As a village youth, and not a tradition bound member of an old house as he is painted in legend, he may have married a year or even two earlier.

fucius having enjoyed such high esteem at the court of his sovereign so early in his career. As K'UNG Li was born in 533 or 532 B. C. and 533 was a *mou-ch'ên* or dragon year, the likeliest explanation of his cognomen is that he was named "carp," i. e. "baby dragon," from the fact that he was conceived or came into the world under the sign of that animal.²¹

We have been unable to find any other examples of the use of Animal Cycle designations as names in that early period. While many well-known individuals of the Ch'un-ch'iu period bore zoographic names, it is in most cases impossible to ascertain their exact dates of birth.²² It is also unlikely that the names of all the animals of the cycle should have been used as chronograms, for several of them, as one may infer from later usage, must have already had unpleasant or uncomplimentary connotations,²³ and it would seem that only "dragon," "tiger," and "horse" were considered suitable or auspicious as proper names.

Confucius himself was probably born under the sign of the dog, 551 B. C. being a *kêng-hsu* year. There is no direct evidence that the Master ever considered his fate as being in any way determined by this astrological fact, but it is interesting to note that

²¹ K'UNG Li died in his fiftieth year, in 484 or 483 B. C. According to *Lun yü* 11, he pre-deceased Confucius' favorite Yen Hui. Yet if we accept the traditional chronological data on Hui (80 years younger than Confucius, died at 32 *sui*), Hui's death must have taken place about 483 B. C. The only way out of the difficulty is to emend 30 to 39 in *Shih chi* 67 and have Yen Hui die in 481 B. C., the year of "the capture of the unicorn." *Chia yü* 10 is well off the mark in making Duke T'ing (509-495) send his condolences to Confucius upon the passing of Yen Hui. We suspect that the brazenness of Hui's father in requesting the Master's carriage to make an outer coffin for his son can only be explained by the supposition that they were close relatives, i. e. that Yen Yu was an uncle or cousin of Confucius, a brother or nephew of his mother, née Yen. This would explain in a way the inordinate affection that Confucius felt for Hui. We must remember that all through his childhood and early youth Confucius was entirely ignorant of his being a scion alleged or real, of the house of K'UNG, and knew, therefore, no other relatives but those on his mother's side, members of the Yen family. Note that his closest friend Tzu Lu, was also related to the Yen through marriage.

²² One of the earliest is "boar," the given name of Duke Kung of Ch'in (reigned 608-601 B. C.), *Shih chi* 3, So-yin.

²³ "Dog" became early a term of abuse "hare" usually connotes lewdness "pig" wildness and grossness of character.

he showed a rather pronounced concern for dogs. Among the few fragments of comments on the structure of Chinese characters attributed to Confucius and preserved chiefly in the *Shuo wên*,²⁴ two are on the term "dog": one on the pictographic nature of the character *ch'uan* 犬, the other, a phonetic gloss on *kou* 狗, interpreted as equivalent to *k'ou* 叩 (*Shuo wên* 10A). *Chia yü* and *Li chi* 2B record the incident of the touching care Confucius took in burying his dog.²⁵ Finally, we may point to the famous description of his appearance given by a man of Chêng to Tzū-kung after the discomfiture suffered by the Master and his faithful in Sung. Confucius accepted as perfectly true the last part of it where he was said to resemble in his forlorn attitude "a dog of a house in mourning" 喪家之狗 (*Shih chî* 47).²⁶

Evidence also seems to indicate that in popular belief cyclical animals were considered to be the real progenitors of individuals born in the year dedicated to them, capable of endowing their sons with at least some of their own physical characteristics. *Shih chî* 8 and *Han shu* 1B insist that Kao-tsu was conceived by his mother from a dragon, his divine origin being stamped on his "dragon forehead."²⁷ Kao-tsu's year of birth is a matter of conjecture. According to Fu Tsan, the commentator on the *Han shu*, Kao-tsu was 53 *sui* at the time of his death in 195 B. C. (*Han shu* 1B), but Hsu Kuang asserts that he was already forty-eight in 209 B. C.,²⁸ while HUANG-FU Mi says that he was 63 *sui* at the time of

²⁴ The quotations from the *Shuo wên* are gathered together in *K'ung tsū chî yü* 5.

²⁵ While the *Chia yü* text is not necessarily the original one, the order of Confucius' words in it appears to be preferable to that of the *Li chi* version. The last seven characters in the latter form an obvious afterthought, derived from the opening of Confucius' speech in *Chia yü* and loosely added to the original paragraph.

²⁶ Cf. *Han shih wai chuan* 9 for the explanation of Confucius' considering the comparison a compliment.

²⁷ Cf. H. H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 1 28-9.

²⁸ Cf. Dubs, *op cit.*, 37. As proved by Dr. Dubs Kao tsu was of such low origin that he originally had no given name. It is even doubtful in our opinion that he even had a surname, *Li* 劉 being probably a nickname given to him or to his father, possibly meaning "dagger" or "*sicarius*," "spadassin" (the ancient meaning of *liu* was "to kill," "sword"). Cf. Dubs, 34-5 on the legend of the sword Kao-tsu's proud possession supposedly inherited from his father. It would be interesting in this connection to investigate certain alleged surnames of ancient Chinese who rose up from

his death and was born in 256 B. C. (*Shih chi* 8, 63 being corrected to 62 by HANG Shih-chun, one of the Ch'ien-lung editors of SSÜ-MA Ch'ien's work). The evidence, then, would seem to favor 257-256 B. C. as the year of Kao-tsu's birth and there is no doubt that the emphasis put on dragon omens in the legends of his early life was to a great degree determined by chronogrammatic associations, as 257 B. C., the year of his birth or conception, was a *chia-ch'ên* or dragon year. His elder contemporary Ch'in Shih huang-ti was born in the first month²⁹ of a tiger year, 259 B. C., dying in 210 B. C. at the age of 50 *sui* (Hsu Kuang in *Shih chi* 6).³⁰ According to *T'ung chih* 4, he had "a tiger's mouth," a characteristic undoubtedly popularly believed to be inherited from his supernatural parent, rather than being descriptive of his political voracity.³¹

Taken singly, each of our examples of the chronogrammatic significance of zoographic names is not conclusive, but together they form a sufficient nucleus of evidence for postulating the popular use of the Animal Cycle in China as early as the sixth century before our era.

among the nameless masses. We believe, for example, that the name of P'ENG Yüeh 彭越, one of Kao-tsu's famous generals, is undoubtedly to be taken as one word, and not as consisting of the aristocratic surname P'ENG and the given name Yueh. According to his biography in *Shih chi* 90 and *Han shu* 34, P'ENG Yüeh was a humble fisherman who later turned to banditry as a profession. His name represents the binom **Bang-Gut* or **Bang Gi* "a kind of crab found on the lower Yangtse," usually written with the same characters (with or without Dt. 142) or with 骨 **Gut* or 其 **Gi* as the phonetic of the second and 旁 **Bang* as the phonetic of the first "Crab." He would indeed have been a very suitable nickname for a fisherman. CHU 仲, the surname of Trü lu, the disciple of Confucius, is also likely to be not a surname, but a mere nickname indicating that he was a second son, as all sources attest to his being of low rustic origin.

²⁹ Note that anciently the first month of the year was also dedicated to the tiger. The influence of the animal of the year was naturally taken to be greater should the birth of a person fall on a day or in a month of the same animal designation.

³⁰ Aged 51 *sui*, according to *Shih chi* 5.

³¹ Hsi in the name of Hsi hsi 胡亥, Shih huang-ti's son and successor has no chronological significance. *Shih chi* 6 says he was 21 *sui* when he became emperor in 209 B. C. (in another place it is said he was but 15 *sui*). This is usually accepted as correct and would make 229 B. C. the year of his birth while the nearest pig year is 226. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Mémoires historiques* 2: 195-241.

We should like, in addition, to take this opportunity for correcting a few *minor*, but *aggravating errors* in "Marginalia" 5 and 6:

On p. 263, note 155: read *yün-tou* for *wei-tou* [L. C. GOODRICH].

On p. 268: read 601 for 581 in line 9.

On p. 278: the names of Yŭ-wên Liang and his sons, Wên and Ming, should not be in italics, since they were put to death by Yŭ-wên Pin, and not by YANG Chien.

On p. 280: note 3 refers to Yŭ-wên Hsien, not to Yung as indicated.

On p. 281: the Hsiang-lo kung-chu, wife of Wei Shih-k'ang, was not the child of Yŭ-wên T'ai, but one of the seven known daughters of T'o-pa Pao-chü. The error in *Sui shu* 47 was caused by the fact that both Yŭ-wên T'ai and Pao-chü had the same posthumous title of Wên-ti. Cf. *Hsi Wei shu* 12.

THE THUNDER-WEAPON IN ANCIENT JAPAN

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The identification of neolithic stone axes as well as meteorites and other unusual stones with thunderbolts is a feature of the folklore of many peoples throughout the world and has been the subject of considerable scholarly research.¹ In China this identification of thunderbolts with neolithic stone axes is known as early as the T'ang dynasty.² In Japan it has often been noted in modern times, and even archaeologists employ such quaint terms as "thunder-axe" (*raifu* or *kaminari no masakari* 雷斧), "thunder-club" (*raitsui* 雷槌), and "thunder-pestle" (*raiko* 雷杵) for stone axes, stone maces (usually with distinct phallic qualities), and stone mallets or picks.³ But early references to these names for the thunderbolt are not known in Japan, and one can reasonably assume that they are relatively recent borrowings from China, where "thunder-axe" is the general term for stone weapons.²

However, there are several small pieces of evidence which do hint at the possibility that the Japanese already at a very early date shared in the wide-spread belief that stone weapons were thunderbolts. The possible etymology of *ikazuchi*, the ancient Japanese word for thunder, offers our first hint. *Ikazuchi*, I believe, may originally have meant "the august (*ika*) club (*tsuchi*),"

¹ Cf. Chr. BLINKENBERG, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore. A Study in Comparative Archaeology* (Cambridge, England, 1911) for a detailed study of the whole problem. On pages 117-8 he has some brief references to China and Japan.

² Cf. CHANG HUNG-chao, *Shih ya* 章鴻釗, 石雅 412 (H. T. CHANG, *Lapidarium sinicum. A Study of the Rocks, Fossils and Metals as Known in Chinese Literature*, Peking, The Geological Survey of China, 1927). Under the T'ang the term for these "thunderbolts" seems to have been *lei kung-shih fu* 雷公石斧 (stone axes of the thunder lord), but the modern term is *lei fu* 雷斧 (thunder-axes).

³ For good illustrations of these cf. T. KANDA, *Notes on Ancient Stone Implements, &c., of Japan*, plates 4-9, 11 (Tokyo 1884).

which corresponds almost perfectly to "thunder club" (*raitsui*), the modern term for stone maces.⁴

There is more important evidence in Ennin's 圓仁 diary of his travels in China during the ninth century,⁵ where is to be found the statement, "Since the stone-god 石神 shook and sounded, we raised anchor and returned (up the bay)." As this was recorded on the day after the mast of the ship on which he was traveling had been badly split by lightning, one can conclude that the "stone-god" is in some way a reference to thunder, presumably because of the identification of stones with thunderbolts.

This "stone-god" may have been just an abstract deity to Ennin and his companions, synonymous with thunder itself, but it is not at all improbable that it was an actual "thunderbolt" of some sort on board the ship. The evidence for this is that a few days later, when the men on Ennin's ship were terrified by a black bird which thrice circled the boat and by the sound of thunder coming roaring towards them from the north, Ennin recorded, "Together we made vows, absolved ourselves, and prayed to the god of the thunderbolt on board the ship 船上霹靂神."⁶

⁴ The etymology of *kaminari*, the modern word for thunder, is probably "the sound (*nari*) of the goda (*kami*)"

⁵ *Nittō guhō junrei gyoku* 入唐求法巡禮行記, year 839, moon 5, day 28 (p 200 in vol 113 of the *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書) Ennin is also known as Jikaku Daishi 慈覺大師.

⁶ Year 839, moon 6 day 5 (p 201) Cf BLINKENBERG 96 It is worth noting that Ennin and his companions did not limit their supplication to the god of the thunderbolt but also worshipped the local Chinese deities and several of the greater deities of Japan which were not connected in any way with thunder, with the gratifying result that "the thunder gradually stopped" This implies a belief that any god might exercise control over thunder. Definite proof of this is afforded by the judgment of an oracle on the 27th day of the fifth moon, after the mast of the ship had been splintered by lightning. The oracle as recorded by Ennin was, "Various men from the ship have been burned in front of the local deity. Therefore you have incurred the anger of the god, who has produced this disaster."

Another interesting example of thunder folklore afforded by Ennin's diary is recorded on the third day of the sixth moon, when he noted that during another thunderstorm "those of us on board waved such things as spears, axes, and swords and shouted with all our might in order to fend off the thunderbolts" Cf FRAZER, *The Golden Bough: The Scapegoat* 246-7 (London 1913)

The great borrowing from China on the part of the Japanese at this time and the fact that Ennin was on the coast of Shantung after spending the better part of a year in China cast some doubt on the validity of these passages as examples of native Japanese folklore, and we must look to Japanese mythology for evidence that the association of the thunderbolt with stones or stone weapons existed before the period of greatest borrowing from China.

MATSUMOTO Nobuhiro 松本信廣 in his important study entitled *Recherches sur quelques thèmes de la mythologie japonaise* (Paris 1928) devotes much attention to thunder deities and has a whole section on "les emblèmes du dieu de tonnerre" (p. 63-70), in which he clearly shows that these are arrows, hoes, lances, and swords.⁷ Although three of these are weapons and the fourth an agricultural tool much like a weapon, something more than this is needed to prove that they were in origin stone weapons thought to be thunderbolts and were not simply emblems, as Matsumoto suggests, chosen because of their flashing or cleaving qualities.

The evidence in favor of the stone thunderbolt theory is to be found largely in the names and mythological traditions of certain Japanese shrines, particularly the two associated with the name Isonokami 石上.⁸ Despite the second character of this name, it is probable that the *kami* is not "above" or "upper" but "god" and that the name originally meant "stone-god." The term "stone-god" cannot be immediately identified with a thunderbolt in Japan, for, since time immemorial, stones have been made into

⁷ MATSUMOTO also discusses the series of attributes, water thunder (storm), and serpents, which belong to Susanoo-no-mikoto 素戔鳴尊, the storm god, and his descendants (59). The association of these three ideas together is only to be expected and is found also throughout China, where the serpent appears as a dragon. Interesting examples of this association are the identification of thunder as a serpent in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (cf. MATSUMOTO 54-55 and ASTON, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, 1:347 [London 1896]) and the description in Ennin's diary of a severe thunderstorm on the Chinese coast as the sound of dragons fighting together and the explanation that such storms were frequent in that vicinity because there were many "dragon palaces" there (year 839 moon 9 day 12 [p. 206]).

⁸ For a theory concerning the origin of such variant phonetic forms as *iso* for *ishi* (stone), cf. S. YOSHITAKE, *The History of the Japanese Particle—"I," BSOS* 5 (1928-30) 880-893.

deities for a number of reasons, usually because of their strange or suggestive shapes,⁸ but in this one case there may well be a connection between "stone-gods" and thunder.

The most famous Isonokami Shrine is at Tambaichi 丹波市 a few miles south of Nara. The central object of worship at this shrine is the Furu-no-mitama 布留御魂 or Futsu-no-mitama 布都御魂, the name of a sword given by a thunder deity, Takemikazuchi-no-kami 建御雷神, to Jimmu Tennō 神武天皇, the mythical first emperor, during the latter's campaign to subdue the future capital region. In the name of the deity appears the word "thunder," and in the names of the sword are the words *futsu*, an onomatopoeic word for cleaving,⁹ and *furu* (sometimes written even in this name as 振), "to shake," which are naturally associated with thunder or thunderbolts as well as with a sword. It is perhaps not too bold to conclude that this particular "stone-god shrine" may actually be dedicated to a thunderbolt (stone sword) from a Japanese Thor.

Closely associated with the Isonokami Shrine of Tambaichi is the Futsu-no-mitama 布都之魂 Shrine at Isonokami village in northern Bizen 備前. It can be no mere coincidence that this shrine, located in the "stone-god village," bears the name of the central deity of the Tambaichi "stone-god shrine" and that it is dedicated to the "serpent cleaving blade" 斬蛇之劔 (or 断蛇之劔) of the greatest storm-thunder god of all, Susanoo-no-mikoto.⁷ The evidence clearly indicates that both shrines belong to a common cult of the stone sword thunderbolt.¹⁰

⁸ None of the many Ishigami 石神 place names (strangely all located in east and north Japan) listed in YOSHIDA Tōgo's *Dainihon chimes jusho* 吉田東伍, 大日本地名辭書 seem to have any connection with thunder. YANAGIDA Kunio in his *Ishigami mondō* 柳田國男, 石神問答 (Tokyo 1906) has a detailed study of certain aspects of the so-called "stone gods" of Japan. His main thesis is that deities known as *shakuji*, *sakuji*, or *sakoji*, 石神 are not "stone-gods" (*ishigami* 石神) as such but that the characters in these cases may be used purely phonetically.

⁹ Cf. MATSUMOTO 68-9.

¹⁰ YOSHIDA discusses at length the obvious relationship between these two shrines and attempts to decide their relative priority (cf. YOSHIDA 283-4, 912-3). This question has no bearing on our problem for all that is important to us is the close association in both cases of an Isonokami and a divine thunderbolt sword.

It is worth noting that *futsu*, the main element in the name of the Tambaichi

YOSHIDA * Tōgo lists seven Kamo (usually written 賀茂 or 鴨) Shrines, which are for the most part dedicated to another thunder god, Wakeikazuchi-no-mikoto 別雷命. In no case is it clearly stated that the object of worship in any of these shrines is a weapon which can be identified with a stone thunderbolt, but it is significant that in one case this is indirectly implied. The Kamo 賀毛 Shrine at Haruta 治田 in the extreme north of Ise 伊勢 is one of the few places in that province known as a site abounding in prehistoric stone implements, so it is not improbable that a stone thunderbolt was the original deity of this shrine also.¹¹

This scattered evidence in favor of the identification of stone weapons with thunderbolts in ancient Japan is far from being conclusive. It is all too scanty and trivial in the face of the almost complete absence of corroborative evidence in the passages on stone and thunder deities in such early works as the *Kojiki*, the *Kogoshūi* 古語拾遺, and the *Nihon shoki* and other volumes of the *Rikkokushi* 六國史. However, it is sufficient to hint strongly at a very interesting possibility, which deserves further study.

"sword-god" and the name of the Bizen "sword shrine," is found in Takefutsu no-kami 建布都神 and Toyofutsu-no-kami 豊布都神, alternate names for the thunder god Takemikazuchi-no-kami. The birth of this deity "from the blood that stuck to the upper part of the august sword and again bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses" and the birth of the Rock Splitting Deity (Iwasaku no-kami 石碯神) and the Rock Possessing Male Deity (Iwatsutsunoo-no-kami 石筒之男神) "from the blood that stuck to the point of the august sword and bespattered the multitudinous rock-masses" suggests vaguely some relationship between stones, swords, and thunder which may have bearing on our problem. Cf CHAMBERLAIN, *Kojiki* 古事記 or *Record of Ancient Matters* 32.

¹¹ Cf YOSHIDA 606. Other hints may possibly be derived from the following facts. (1) the Iso 伊曾 (wo = uhi, "stone," as in Isonokami?) Shrine in Iyo 伊豫 is in a place called Kamo 賀茂 and is devoted to the worship of the Kamo family (YOSHIDA 1286); (2) a noteworthy feature and possibly the original deity of the Kamo 賀茂 Shrine in Hirotsawa 廣澤 in Kozuke 上野 is a stone in the shape of a lantern in a grove behind the shrine (YOSHIDA 3369), and (3) the Ikazuchi 雷 or Thunder, Shrine (also called the Bright Deity of Kamo 加茂明神) of Shizuoka 静岡 city is on the edge of Ishimachi 石町 ("Stone Street") (YOSHIDA 2560).

NOTES ON T'ANG DYNASTY SEA ROUTES *

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China's southeastern coast is blessed with a series of harbors stretching from Hang-chou 杭州 Bay in Chekiang to the Indo-Chinese border. The role of these bays in the history of Chinese foreign trade and intercourse is too well known to need further comment. China also has a series of excellent ports along the mountainous coast of the Shantung peninsula from the Hai-chou 海州 region in the northern corner of Kiangsu¹ to the Lai-chou 萊州 area in the northwest. These ports, although little used by the great Arab-Persian trade, which made Ch'uan-chou 泉州 and other southern ports so famous, were of importance in the early intercourse with Korea and Japan.

Between these two long stretches of well-indented coast line rich in good harbors lie the 500 kilometers of delta mud flats of Kiangsu, which are naturally a great inconvenience and sometimes a menace to shipping. However, this same region has the mouth of the Yangtse River, and in T'ang times there was also the Huai River, emptying into the sea in the vicinity of what is now called the old mouth of the Yellow River. Both the Yangtse and the Huai were connected with the Grand Canal system, which in T'ang times led from the Hang-chou area to the central Yellow River valley, then still the heart of China. This made them both potentially very important routes for foreign intercourse, because they were two of the three existing entrances from the sea to the easy water route to the capital area. The third great entrance was through the ports of the Hang-chou Bay region. None of the many other harbors and inlets of the indented

* Concerning specifically the relative use of the lower Yangtse and Huai 淮 Rivers as routes into China for foreign sea-borne trade and intercourse during the eighth and ninth centuries

¹ Although not part of the peninsula, this area has hills and sheltered bays resembling those of Shantung, which it adjoins

coast lines of Shantung, Chekiang, Fukien, and Kwangtung were connected by inland waterways with the Grand Canal system, and the lower Yellow River, which at this time flowed from the central region northeastwards to the Gulf of Chihli, does not seem to have been used at all in foreign intercourse.

Today the mouth of the Huai River no longer exists as a single large entity, but the mouth of the Yangtse, including the port of Shanghai, is the great front door of China and the most important entrance and exit for Chinese foreign trade. The roles of the lower Yangtse and Huai Rivers in China's foreign intercourse in earlier periods are not so well known, but, because of their excellent geographic locations and of the present importance of the former, they are certainly worthy of study. This brief inquiry is merely a beginning in this direction and is limited, for the most part, to the eighth and ninth centuries, the earliest period for which we have a considerable body of evidence.

Let us consider first the Arab Persian trade in China and the light it throws on our problem. There is apparently no known reference to the use of the lower Huai River by merchants from southern or western Asia. This is only natural for, coming from the south as they did, they could enter the Grand Canal system long before they reached the mouth of the Huai. Their use of the lower Yangtse is a different matter. There is clear and ample evidence that Yang-chou 揚州, the great emporium on the Grand Canal some fifteen kilometers north of its junction with the Yangtse River, was known to Arab Persian traders during the T'ang dynasty and was one of their major trade centers in China. In the middle of the ninth century Ibn Khordadbeh knew it under its alternate name of Ching tu 江都 (Kantou),² and a Chinese

² Cf. *Le livre des routes et des provinces* par Ibn Khordadbeh publié traduit et annoté par C. BARRIER DE MEYERARD JA 1803 (vol. 5) p. 93-94. The identification of Kantou with Yang-chou has been established largely by KAWABARA Jitsuzo in *Ist. Ibun Korudolobê ni mitaru Shi na no bukkyô koto ni Janfû to Kantô ni teite* 桑江の隋代、イフノ=コルダートベールに見えたる支那の貿易港跡にフヤノフクとカノツクに就いて, SZ 30 1013-30-31 801-60.

The section on Yang-chou (p. 159-61) in *Wu Yu kan* 唐書 卷 191 地理志 揚州 唐武宗時, 唐武宗時代上海在中國對外貿易上之地位 謝安其 & 劉煥 著 上海社會科學出版社

text indicates that in the year 760 several thousand Arab and Persian traders were killed in a local disturbance at Yang-chou.³ Our best evidence that at least some of these foreign traders had come there by sea-going vessels, and therefore presumably by the lower Yangtse, is found in a Chinese Imperial ordinance of the year 834, which states, "To the foreigners living at Ling-nan 嶺南, Fu-chien 福建 and Yang-chou, the viceroys of these provinces should offer consolations, and except the already fixed anchorage-duties, the court-purchase and the regular presents, no additional taxes should be inflicted on them, allowing them to engage freely in their trade."⁴ Furthermore, during the Sung dynasty, in the

³ Quoted by KUWABARA (On P'u Shou keng 13) from *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 75. year 1146, a *shih-po-wu* 市舶務 (customs office) was established at Chiang-yin 江陰 on the south bank of the Yangtse some 135 kilometers airline above Shanghai.⁵

This scattered evidence proves that the lower Yangtse was used by the traders from southern and western Asia as a route into China, at least intermittently if not continuously, during the T'ang and Sung dynasties. Unfortunately, there is not sufficient clear evidence to allow us to evaluate accurately the relative importance and use of this route. However, the paucity of references to it, the absence of accounts of merchants who used it, and the fact that Chiang-yin was one of the least important of the nine ports open to this trade in Sung times⁶ all suggest that this route was of relatively little significance in the Arab-Persian trade.

("Studies in Social Sciences" of the National Central University, Nanking), vol 2, no 1, p 145 216, is based largely on KUWABARA's studies and adds no new material of significance except the fact that the Yangtse was a tidal river as far up as Yangchow until the middle T'ang period

⁴ Cf *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 144, biography of T'ien Shên-kung 田神功, and 141, biography of T'eng Ching-shan 鄧景山. KUWABARA (On P'u Shou keng 蒲壽庚 *Memoires of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 2 13) quotes the second of these two passages but attributes it incorrectly to *Hsin T'ang shu* 44 (an obvious error for 144), biography of T'ien Shên-kung. Wu Yu-kan (p 161) has copied this error from KUWABARA without noting the fact that KUWABARA was his source.

⁵ FUJITA Toyohachi, *Sodai no shihakushi oyobi shihaku jōrei* 藤田豊八, 宋代の市舶司及び市舶條例, TG 7 187 8

⁶ Four were around Hang-chou Bay (Hang-chou Ming-chou 明州 [the modern Ning po 寧波], Kan-p'u 澈浦, and Hsiu-chou 秀州 [both on the north shore of the

When we turn to the trade and intercourse with Japan and Korea, we find much more specific material on our problem in chance references in Japanese histories, diaries, and biographies, all written in Chinese. This is not surprising, because the Japanese naturally frequented the coast of Kiangsu lying opposite them much more than did the Arabs and Persians, who approached China from the south.⁶

No complete analytical study has been made of the evidence in Japanese sources on the foreign trade routes of this region during the T'ang dynasty, but many Japanese scholars have studied the particular question of the routes of the Japanese embassies to and from the T'ang capital. As this is one important aspect of the problem, let us commence our own consideration of it with the routes of the embassies.

Early Japanese embassies to the Sui and T'ang courts skirted the west coast of Korea and then crossed to Shantung, landing usually on the northern side of the peninsula in the neighborhood of T'eng-chou 登州 or Lai-chou, but, commencing with the embassy of 702, they began to cross directly from western Japan to the ports of central China.⁷ Several Japanese scholars who have

bay in the northeastern corner of Chekiang), three were farther south (Wen-chou 温州 in southeastern Chekiang, Ch'uan-chou in Fukien, and Canton), and one was in southern Shantung (Mi-chou 密州, the modern Chiao-chou 膠州 or Kiaochow). Cf. FUJITA 171-2.

⁶ Since, as we shall see, the Koreans frequented the coast of Kiangsu much more than the Japanese, one might expect even more material on our problem in Korean sources or in Chinese references to Koreans, but this, unfortunately, is not the case. The sea routes between Korea and China have been the subject of considerable scholarly research, particularly by NAITÔ Shunsuke in his *Chōsen-Shina ken no kōro oyobi sono sun ni tsuite* 内藤萬輔, 朝鮮支那間の航路及其推移に就て (in *Naitô Hakase shōju kinen shigaku ronshū* 内藤博士頌壽記念史學論叢, 275-380 [Kyōto 1930]). However, almost all his material for the T'ang dynasty on the route leading to the region between Shantung and Chekiang is taken from the *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記, the travel diary of a Japanese monk Ennin 圓仁 also known as Jikaku Daishi 慈覺大師 who was in China in the years 838-847. This text (abbreviated below as *Junreiki*) is most conveniently available in the *Dainihon bukkyō zenshō* 大日本佛教全書 (abbreviated below as *DBZ*) vol. 113, p. 167-292. What little independent Korean data there is on our problem will be added to the Japanese material.

⁷ This southern route was much shorter and was more convenient, because it connected with the Grand Canal system, but the long open sea voyage it entailed made it

studied this so-called southern route have not hesitated to mark it on maps as passing up the Yangtse River to Yang-chou.⁸ This,

far more hazardous than the northern route. Only very sound reasons could have persuaded the Japanese to adopt it in place of the safer route via Korea and Shantung. The chief reason seems to have been fear of the Korean state of Silla 新羅, Japan's traditional enemy among the early Korean states after Silla had crushed and annexed the other two Korean states Paekche 百濟 in 663 and Koguryō 高句麗 in 668. The embassy which set sail in 669 is believed to have gone by the northern route, but all later regular embassies chose the dangerous southern route and as late as 839 we find the members of the last Japanese embassy to Tang China obviously afraid to return by way of Silla. (Cf *Junrei's* year 839 moon 4 day 2. All references below to books chronologically arranged will be as here by year moon and day.)

Conclusive proof of the chief reason for the shift of the routes is afforded by the section on Japan (ch. 290) in the *Hsin Tang shu*, where after mention of an embassy from Japan apparently that of 750 it is stated: Silla blocked the sea route but (the Japanese) changed and went by Ming (chou) and Yueh-chou 越州 to come to court and pay tribute. Yueh-chou is the modern Shao-hsing 紹興 on the south side of Hang-chou Bay.

The one exception among the Japanese embassies of the eighth and ninth centuries was that which left for China in 759 by a northern route but this was not a real embassy having been sent merely to search for FUJIWARA Kiyokawa 藤原清河, the Ambassador dispatched to China in 752 (cf *Shō-ū Nihongi*, 續日本紀 759/1/30). It does not seem to have gone by the usual northern route but by the Po hai route 渤海道 (op. cit. 761/8/12). This presumably means that it went up the east coast of Korea and then across Manchuria to China (cf TSURU Zennosuke *Zoku kugai kotsu shun* 止善之助, 增訂海外交通史話 105 [Tokyo 1933] and ASIMURA Korehito Heijo Heian jida Nihonkai kajo kotsuro no gaikan 蘆田伊人, 平城平安時代日本海々上交通路の概観 *Rekishi chiri* 歴史地理 57 378-408). Some of the party returned from Po hai the same year (*Shoku Nihongi*, 759/10/18) but the leader returned from China in 761 by the southern route (op. cit. 761/8/12).

NAITŌ (op. cit. 356-7) suggests that a direct southern route from the southwestern corner of Korea to the Chekiang coast was in use in the sixth or possibly in the fifth century but the evidence he offers is not at all conclusive and the return voyage from China in 661 of one ship of the Japanese embassy of 639 (see note 19) is the earliest clear case of the use of a southern direct route to either Korea or Japan. NAITŌ also states (p. 359) that the fact that representatives of Chinese interests were enslaving natives of the islands of the southwestern coast of Korea (cf *Hsin Tang shu* [Tung wen shu-chuei] 220-23b) proves that this was an important point in the southern route but since it was a very important point in the northern route to the Shantung peninsula this is scarcely a valid argument. This southern route from Korea no doubt was in use during the Tang dynasty but actually the earliest clear description we have of it refers to a voyage made in the year 1123. Cf NAITŌ 350-6 and ch. 31-40 of the *Kao li + u chung* 高麗國經 of Hsu Ching 徐兢 found in the *T'ien-lu lin-lang tsung shu* 天祿琳琅叢書 series 1 and in other collections.

⁸ Cf TANIMORI Tomoo *Nitto no kotsuro ni tsuite* 谷森鏡男, 日唐の交通路に就いて SZ 26 619-621; TSUKUBA Fujimaro *Nitto tsuko to sono enkyō* 筑波藤

if true, would of course prove that the Yangtse route was of great importance and was probably part of the main route between China and Japan in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Despite the general agreement of secondary sources on this point, there seems to be little basis for their conclusions. Of the seven embassies from Japan to China during this period, the places of debarkation of two are absolutely unknown. One landed in Yen-ch'êng-hsien 鹽城縣, the region immediately south of the mouth of the Huai River in northern Kiangsu.⁹ One is said to have landed in the Ming-chou and Yueh-chou area on the south

底, 日唐通交と其影響, 34 and map opposite p. 31, and his *Nitto kanketsu* 日唐關係 in *Iwanami kōza Nippon rekishi* 岩波講座: 日本歴史, Tokyo 1933, Tōjō, op. cit., 78 and map opposite p. 76, KIMURA Yasuhiko *Nissshi kotsu shi* 木宮泰彦, 日支交通史, 1 142 and map facing it (Tokyo 1926). KIMURA gives an alternate southern route through Hang-chou Bay to the Grand Canal. On a map opposite page 70 he also marks the route between Japan and southern China in the Six Dynasties period showing it as passing up the Yangtse to Chien k'ang 建康 (Nanking) but this is purely speculative. In a more recent survey of the problem (*Nissshi no kotsūro* 日支の交通路, *Rekishi chin* 57 112-21) KIMURA repeats his supposition that the route in the Six Dynasties period led up the Yangtse to Chien k'ang and he outlines the southern embassy route to China in the Tang period as going to the vicinity of the mouth of the Yangtse and then to Hang-chou. (Later references to "KIMURA" are to his book and not to this article.) NAITO (op. cit., 325-31) likewise concludes that the route between Koguryō and the southern Chinese states of the Six Dynasties period led to the mouth of the Yangtse, but the only real proof he has for this is a text of the Yuan period (p. 328).

AKITAMA Kenzo in his *Nissshi koshō shi kenkyū* 秋山謙藏, 日支交渉史研究, 194 (Tokyo 1939) gives no map and speaks more cautiously of the southern route as leading to the ports in the vicinity of the mouth of the Yangtse. ASAI Torao in his *Shina Nippon tsūsho shi* 浅井虎夫, 支那日本通商史, 227-31 (Tokyo 1906) after an inconclusive and incomplete presentation of the materials marks southern routes leading from Japan to Ming-chou and Fu-chou 福州.

The only studies of the ancient routes between China and Japan in Chinese of which I am aware are those of WANG Chi-wu 王輯五 (*Chung Wo chiao-tung lu* 中倭交通路線考, *Ta tung par gwei t'ao* 禹貢半月刊 3 11 23 and *Chung Wo chih ku tai chiao-tung lu* 中倭之古代交通路 *Shih ta yueh lan* 師大月刊 19 23-30), but these unfortunately are limited to earlier periods and concern only the sections of the routes between Korea and Japan. WU Yu-lan (op. cit. 161-5) in a brief treatment of the problem bases his conclusions almost exclusively on KIMURA and makes the quite unjustified statement that all embassies from eastern countries like Japan and Silla went to Yang-chou. Actually only a small fraction of those from Silla ever reached Yang-chou.

⁹ The embassy of 702. Cf. *Shoku Nihongi* 704/7/1.

shore of Hang-chou Bay.¹⁰ Another landed in Ming-chou and along the coast of Fukien.¹¹ Some ships from only two embassies landed in Hai-ling-hsien 海陵縣, the region just north of the mouth of the Yangtse,¹² where they would be in a position to continue up the river to Yang-chou, as the maps indicate. The other ships of these same two embassies landed in Yen-ch'êng-hsien¹² and in Hai-chou.¹³

Perhaps it is not fair to draw any conclusions from these places of debarkation, because knowledge of open sea navigation at this time was so rudimentary that the Japanese had practically no control over their ships once they had left Japan favored by winds blowing in the general direction of central China. On the other hand, the points of departure of these embassies afford more reliable evidence, for these naturally were chosen either by the Chinese or by the Japanese themselves.

In two cases the points of departure from China are not known, but, of the remaining five embassies, two left from Su-chou 蘇州, the area just south of the mouth of the Yangtse River,¹⁴ and two ships of another set sail from Ch'ang-shu-hsien 常熟縣, the region northeast of the city of Su-chou between it and the Yangtse.¹⁵ The other two ships of this same embassy left from Hai-ling-hsien and Yen-ch'êng-hsien respectively.¹⁵ Most of the ships of another embassy left from Ch'u-chou 楚州, the great city on the Huai River some 130 kilometers airline from its mouth,¹⁶ and the re-

¹⁰ The embassy of 752 as indicated by KIMURA 1 151. I have been unable to find any original source or secondary corroboration for this.

¹¹ The embassy of 803. Cf *Nihon koki* 日本後紀 805/6/8.

¹² The embassy of 777 (*Shoku Nihongi* 778/10/23, 11/15) and that of 838 (*Junreiki* 838/7/2).

¹³ *Junreiki* 838/8/10. KIMURA (1 1512) fails to include these last two examples or the sailing of the latter ship from Hai-chou (see note 17).

¹⁴ The embassy of 733 (*Shoku Nihongi* 739/11/3) and that of 702. Cf J. TAKAKUSU (tr.), *Le voyage de Kanshin en orient* (742-754), par Aomi no Mabito Genkai (779), BEFEO 29 48, 52-3.

¹⁵ The embassy of 777. Cf *Shoku Nihongi* 778/10/23, 11/13.

¹⁶ The embassy of 838. Cf *Junreiki* 839/3/23 29. Since in this case the ships actually followed the northern route home to Japan via Korea, and since the ship of this same embassy which left from Hai-chou seems to have done the same (cf *Junreiki* 839/4/13 to 11/7), these two cases might be excluded from among those of ships using the so-called southern route. However, because they sailed from central

In contrast to the inconclusive evidence concerning the first two embassies, we know exactly what happened on the return voyage of the embassy of 838. In this case the crews of two of the original three Japanese ships hired nine smaller Korean vessels at Ch'u chou itself and went down the Huai River from Ch'u chou to its mouth and then proceeded northwards up the coast before crossing to Japan.¹⁸ One can hardly conclude from this clear instance and the two doubtful cases of 702 and 777 that the lower Huai River was part of the regular route for embassies between Japan and China in the eighth and ninth centuries, but obviously it was one of the doors to China in the ninth century and probably also in the eighth.

The evidence concerning the use of the lower Yangtse by Japanese embassies is more complex. In the case of the irregular embassy of 759, the ship for the return voyage was constructed in Su chou and so obviously did not come down the Yangtse.²⁰ In the cases of the embassies of 733 and 752, there is no strong evidence for or against the possibility of the Japanese ships having come down the Yangtse from Yang chou before setting sail for Japan.¹⁴ In the latter case however, the Chinese monk Chien chen 鑑真 (Kanjin, Kanshin, or Ganjin in Japanese) descended the river from Yang chou in a private boat and then transhipped to a vessel of the Japanese embassy. This implies that the Japanese ships probably never reached Yang-chou, but it also suggests that the members of all three embassies may have come down the Yangtse to Su chou in Chinese bottoms rather than by the equally convenient canal route. Only in the case of the embassy of 777 is there evidence that Japanese ships went up the Yangtse. Then three of the four ships landed in Hai ling hsien, and at least two of these were later moored in the Yangtse River, presumably near Yang-chou. On the way home, after going out of the mouth of the Yangtse, they stopped in the Su-chou region before setting sail for Japan.¹⁵

There remains the case of the embassy of 838, the best known of all the embassies. Although there is no doubt that in this instance most of the trip from the open sea to Yang-chou was

made by canal,²² it has been generally assumed by Japanese scholars that at least one of the embassy's ships actually entered the mouth of the Yangtse and that its crew and passengers debarked at the modern Hai-mên 海門 on the north bank of the river, now over 70 kilometers from its mouth. This is clearly shown in two maps of the route of the ship which carried the monk Ennin to China.²³ Both maps are based on the somewhat confused opening pages of Ennin's *Junreiki*, to which we must turn for further evidence.

As far as I can ascertain, the chief textual bases for the maps are (1) the reference to whitish water presumably from the "great river of Yang-chou" on 6/28, (2) the mention of "the mouth of a river" on 7/2, and (3) "the mouth of a great river" mentioned on 6/29 and 7/1. Ennin's failure to name the Yangtse specifically, except in the first inconclusive example, and his failure to comment on its size or fame certainly cast doubt on the identification of this river or these rivers with the Yangtse. Almost any Chinese river or stream would seem to be a "great river" to men just come from Japan. Moreover, a careful examination of the relevant sections of gazetteers of Yang-chou, Hai-mên, T'ung-chou 通州 (the modern Nan-t'ung 南通 30 kilometers west of Hai-mên), and Ju-kao 如皋 (about 100 kilometers east of Yang-chou) has revealed no positive evidence in support of these maps.

On the other hand, the evidence against them is strong. The Kuo-ch'ing-ssü 國清寺 18 li 里 north of the embassy's point of debarkation (7/3) is very probably the monastery of that name founded by a monk called Hsing-man 行滿 in the Yuan-ho 元和 period (806-821) at Chüeh-chiang or Chüeh-chiang-chên 掘港鎮 some 95 kilometers northwest of the present mouth of the Yangtse and only 18 kilometers from the sea.²⁴

²² *Junreiki* 838/7/18-23. The following moon and day references in the text are all to *Junreiki* 838.

²³ Cf. *Jikaku Daishi*, published by the Tendai-shū Ken'yōkai 天台宗顕揚會, frontispiece map (Tōkyō 1914), and *Tsuru*, op. cit. (see note 7), map opposite p. 76.

²⁴ Cf. 3 100a of the *Ju-kao-hsien chih* 如皋縣志 of 1808 and the *chuan-mo* 卷末 33a of the *T'ung-chou chih-li-chou chih* 通州直隸州志 of 1873.

Further evidence is the "dug canal (*chueh chiang* 掘港) of Yang chou," first mentioned on 6/28, from which the town of Chueh chiang presumably derives its name. When Ennin went by canal from the Kuo ch'ing ssu to Yang chou, at least the first part of the trip, if not the whole of it, was made by this "dug canal" (7/18, 20). A waterway of obvious age still exists from Yang chou through Tai hsien 泰縣 (about 40 kilometers east of Yang chou) and Ju kao to Chueh chiang and is, as far as I can ascertain, essentially the same waterway which Ennin used and which he says on 7/18 was dug by Yang ti 楊帝 (605-617) of the Sui dynasty. The "station on the dug canal" mentioned on 7/2 and 3 and the Chueh chiang chen where a sailor of another ship

the embassy was reported on 7/2 to have died, may have been the modern town of Chueh chiang or else some neighboring village or villages which likewise derived their names from the canal.

We can conclude that the two maps of Ennin's route to China are incorrect and that none of the ships of the embassy of 838 ever entered the mouth of the Yangtse River. Moreover, it seems quite probable that the embassy hoped to land near the "dug canal of Yang chou" and not at the mouth of the Yangtse, for on 6/28 Ennin recorded that after the ship had passed through a strip of muddy water presumably from the great river, a Korean Interpreter² of the expedition remarked: "I have heard it said that it is difficult to go through the dug canal of Yang-chou. Already we have passed the whitish water, and I suspect that we may have passed the dug canal."

The following table summarizes quantitatively our evidence on the points of debarkation and embarkation of Japanese embassies which landed at or set sail from central Chinese ports. The numbers do not represent the total numbers of ships but the number of embassies of which one or more ships used these ports.

	Land ing	Sail ing	Total
Huai-chou	1	1	2
Vicinity of Huai mouth	2	2	4

² *Shi rogi* (Shi) are 新羅譯官 Korean Interpreters who apparently knew both Chinese and Japanese were of great practical value to the Japanese embassies.

	Landing	Sailing	Total
Vicinity of Yangtse mouth	2	4 ²⁶	6 ²⁶
Hang-chou Bay	2	2 ²⁷	4 ²⁷
Fukien	1		1
Total	8	9	17

With the cases concerning the mouth of the Yangtse numbering only a trifle over one third of the total, it is extremely dangerous to say, as Japanese scholars have said, that *the* southern route to China for embassies was by way of the mouth of the Yangtse. Since ships of only one of the embassies are known to have entered the Yangtse, while those of another seem to have desired to avoid it, it is still rasher to mark the route as passing up the Yangtse to Yang-chou. All one can say is that there was no one clearly defined route but that the three principal places of debarkation and embarkation in China in the order of their apparent importance were the vicinity of the mouth of the Yangtse, its vicinity of the mouth of the Huai, and Hang-chou Bay.²⁶

The evidence afforded by records of Japanese embassies proves that both the lower Yangtse and the lower Hsüi were used by ships engaged in international intercourse, but the notices of the travels of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese merchants and monks are still more instructive and give a clearer idea of the relative importance of these routes.

For the eighth century we have only the account of the five unsuccessful attempts of Chien-chên to reach Japan before he finally made the crossing on board a ship of the embassy of 752. Since a ship was constructed at Yang-chou for the first attempt in 743, he obviously intended to start out on the Yangtse River.²⁷ This time he was prevented from sailing by the government. In the second attempt a few months later he is believed to have

²⁶ Including the irregular embassy of 759

²⁷ Including the embassy of 659

²⁸ The statement from the *Hsin T'ang shu* (quoted in note 7) that the Japanese "went by Ming (chou) and Yüeh-chou to come to court and pay tribute" indicates that the Chinese looked upon Hang-chou Bay as the main entrance into China and suggests that it may have played a more important role than our statistics show

²⁹ TAKAKUSU op cit (see note 14), vol 28 p 443-6

sailed down the river before being stopped by a tempest, but the evidence is not conclusive.³⁰ In his fifth attempt he clearly went down the Yangtse from Yang-chou before going to Chekiang, from where he was eventually blown far to the south.³¹ When one remembers that in his successful sixth attempt to reach Japan Chien-chên again went down the Yangtse from Yang-chou to reach the Japanese ships at Su-chou, one can conclude that the lower Yangtse was a very common route of travel at this time.

For the ninth century we have almost a wealth of material, which can be divided for the most part into four categories: cases concerning the (1) Fukien and southern Chekiang coast, (2) Hang-chou Bay (Ming-chou), the (3) mouth of the Yangtse, and the (4) mouth of the Huai. A fifth category of cases concerning the coast of the Shantung peninsula could be added, but, although many of the ships engaged in international commerce stopped in the bays and harbors of the southern side of the Shantung peninsula, there is no single instance in which it can be clearly established that these ships were not bound for or from a central or southern Chinese port.³² Embassies to and from Korea and Po-hai might still embark or disembark in the Shantung peninsula,³³ but the main currents of trade naturally flowed past

³⁰ *Op cit* 451

³¹ *Op cit* 458

³² Ennin repeatedly recorded the passing of trade ships, usually Korean, up and down the coast of Shantung (see note 59), and once he even noted the presence of two Po-hai ships at the tip end of the peninsula (*Junreiki* 839/8/15). Furthermore, on his way back to Japan he obviously felt that Hai-chou and the extremity of the peninsula were both good places to look for a ship bound for Japan (845/7/16, 8/27). But, except for the ship a Korean friend built expressly to take him back to Japan (847/1 2), Ennin mentioned no international trade ship with its home port in Shantung waters.

³³ Ennin recorded the existence of a *Hsin lo (Silla)-kuan* 新羅館 and a *Po-hai kuan* 渤海館 at Teng-chou to accommodate embassies from Silla and Po-hai (810/3/2), and he twice mentioned embassies bound for Silla at or near the extremity of the Shantung peninsula (839/6/28 and 847/intercalary 3).

There were two main routes between Korea and the Shantung peninsula. The one which led directly from the tip of the peninsula to central Korea is best known from the *Junreiki*. The other which led from the northern coast of Shantung across to the Liao-tung peninsula and then along the coast of Manchuria and northwestern Korea to central Korea is described as the sea route to China in the *Hsin Tang shu* (Tung-wen shu-chü ed.) 43B 23b-24a. Cf. PELLEROT, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à*

this mountainous region towards the more inviting entrances into China to the south.

Japanese sources mention five cases in which ships engaged in foreign intercourse either landed in or set sail from Fukien or southern Chekiang ports. In 842 the monk Eun 惠運 landed in southern Chekiang,³⁴ in 853 the monk Enchin 圓珍 landed in the neighborhood of Lien-chiang-hsien 連江縣 east of Fu-chou in northern Fukien,³⁵ in 858 Enchin set sail for Japan from the T'ai-chou 台州 region in east central Chekiang,³⁶ in 865 the monk Shūei 宗叡 and some companions embarked for Japan at Fu-chou,³⁷ and in 877 a Chinese merchant ship landed in Japan after setting sail from the T'ai-chou region.³⁸ The last ship carried as cargo goods procured by a special Japanese trade embassy dispatched in 874 to buy incense and drugs in China.³⁹ The speed

la fin du VIII^e siècle, *BEFEO* 4 131-2, NAITÔ 279-83, 314, and ISANISHI Ryû, *Shiragi shi kenkyû* 今西龍, 新羅史研究, 352-66 (Kyôto 1933). NAITÔ believes that the second was the official embassy route but that the first was the more used route in the latter part of the Tang period. ISANISHI goes further and points out that the second route obviously was no longer an important one in the Tang period but was the route of an earlier period when navigation was a less developed science.

³⁴ At Yü lu-chen 玉留鎮 in Lo-ch'ing hsien 樂城縣, the modern Lo-ch'ing 樂清 a few kilometers east of Wen-chou on the coast about midway between Ning po and Fu-chou. The crossing was made in less than six days from the Gotô 五島 Archipelago west of Kyûshû in a boat newly constructed there by the Chinese merchant captain Li Ch'ü jen 李處人. Cf. *Anjôn Fun den* 安祥寺惠運傳 136 one of the *Nittô goku den* 入唐五家傳 in *DBZ* 113.

³⁵ The crossing was made in less than seven days on the ship of Hâm Yanghwî 欽良卽, called in this case a Chinese merchant, but probably more accurately described as a Korean mariner from Su-chou in the *Junreiki* 817/6/9. Cf. *Gyôryakusho* 行歷抄 280 in *DBZ* 113 and *Chûhō Dawh den* 智證大師傳 1366 in *DBZ* 29. The latter text, written by MITSUNO Kiyonuki 三善清行 in 902, is also called the *Tendawhō Enryakupû zaru Fachin den* 天台宗延歷寺座主圓珍傳 and is listed in the index of *DBZ* 28 as the *Huizan Enryakupû zaru Enchin kashō den* 比叡山延歷寺座主圓珍和尚傳.

³⁶ The return crossing to Japan was made in about ten days on the ship of the merchant Li Yen hsiao 李延孝. Cf. *Chûhō Dawh den* 1370.

³⁷ The crossing to the Gotô Archipelago was made in five days and four nights on the ship of the same Li Yen hsiao. Cf. *Zada Shinnō ni'ito ryakki* 頭陀親王入唐略記 165 in the *Nittô goku den* in *DBZ* 113.

³⁸ Since the crossing took the better part of two moons it is quite probable that this ship unlike the others which crossed in from five to ten days, went by way of Shantung and Korea. Cf. *Sandai jûroku* 三代實錄 877/8/22.

³⁹ *Op. cit.* 874/6/17.

of the crossing in four out of five of the cases indicates that no stops were made on the way in Chinese ports.³⁸ Clearly then, in the middle decades of the ninth century there was a direct trade route from the many ports along the coast of Fukien and southern Chekiang to western Japan.⁴⁰

The route between the Hang-chou Bay area and Japan seems to have been even more important during the ninth century, for we find no less than seven references to international commerce ships bound for or from Ming-chou. Ennin in 842 mentioned the ship of a certain Li Lin-tê 李隣德 bound for Japan from Ming-chou, and in 847 he recorded that there was a Japanese ship then at Ming-chou and that some Japanese returned home on a Ming-chou ship.⁴¹ We also know that in 847 or 848 Eun sailed for home on a Chinese ship from Wang-hai-chên 望海鎮, the modern Chen-hai 鎮海 area just north of Ning-po (Ming-chou).⁴² In 862 Shinnyo 眞如, who was the former crown prince of Japan, Takaoka 高岳, but at this time was an elderly monk of almost 80 years, landed in the Ming-chou area.⁴³ In 863 Egaku 恵萼 and some other monks who had accompanied Shinnyo to China were sent home from Ming-chou,⁴⁴ and in 865 or 866 the monk Shûei met

³⁸ There are some hints that ships engaged in this commerce occasionally went as far south as Canton, for in *Chishô Daishi shôrai mokuroku* 智證大師請來目錄 (DBZ 28 1280) is mentioned a Japanese monk Enkaku 圓覺 who met two presumably Japanese 本國 merchants with the Chinese style names of Ri Eikaku 李英覺 and Chin Taishin 陳太信 at Canton.

⁴¹ *Junreki* 842/5/25, 847/intercalary 3, and 847/6/0. Ennin also proves that Ming-chou was considered one of the usual Chinese home ports for this trade when he quotes the words of one of his companions, "According to old precedents, boats which have set out from Ming-chou (for Japan) have landed in Silla territory" (839/4/2). See also note 28.

⁴² *Anjô Eun den* 156. The date is given as 847 according to the Japanese year period and the cyclical sign but as 848 according to the Chinese year period. The crossing to the Gotô Archipelago was made in three days.

⁴³ Cf. *Zuda Shinno nittô ryakki* 163-4 and TSURU, *op cit.*, 90-7. The crossing from the Gotô Archipelago was made in about four days on a ship especially constructed by the Chinese CHANG Chih-hsin 張支信 in Japan. The latter was also the captain of the "Ming-chou ship" which according to Ennin took some Japanese home in 847. His name is given as CHANG Yu hsin 張友信 in the *Shoku Nihon kôki* 續日本後紀 847/7/8, when he brought back to Japan some other Japanese monks, and in the *Sandai jûroku* 861/8/13.

⁴⁴ *Zuda Shinno nittô ryakki* 164.

a man, described as his disciple, at Wang-hai-chên near Ming-chou and crossed with him to Japan in three days." Since in the only two cases in which the speed of the crossing is definitely known the ships obviously went directly from the Ming-chou area to Japan, we can conclude that there was a direct trade route between Hang-chou Bay and western Japan.

Japanese sources are surprisingly silent on private ships engaged in international intercourse which visited the area around the mouth of the Yangtse during the ninth century, and our references are limited to two in the *Junreiki*. Ennin recorded that in 845 two ships from Japan had landed at Ch'ang-chou 常州, an area on the south bank of the Yangtse about 200 kilometers from its present mouth, and that those on board intended to sell their ships and return to Japan, apparently from this same region, on a hired Chinese ship." In 847 Ennin returned to Japan on a ship manned largely by Koreans from Su-chou, which after leaving the mouth of the Sung River 松江, the modern Wu-sung River 吳淞江 which flows through Shanghai, proceeded northwards up the Shantung coast to the tip of the peninsula, crossed to Korea, and then followed the coast southwards and then eastwards to Japan."

" Cf. *Zenninji Sôjo den* 禪林寺僧正傳 158, one of the *Nittô goka den* in DBZ 113, and *Sandai jizuroku* 881/3/26. These two works in almost identical passages date the event in 866, but KIMURA, *op. cit.*, I 212, gives reason for believing this an error for 863. In this regard it is worth noticing that the so-called disciple whom Shûei accompanied was the merchant Li Yen hsiao who took Enchin back to Japan in 838 (see note 36) and who is also known to have come to Japan in 862 and in 863. Cf. *Sandai jizuroku* 862/7/23 and 863/7/27. He is probably also the Li Yen ts'un 李延存 said to be a Chinese merchant in Japan in 861. Cf. *Zuda shinno nittô ryakki* 163.

A few chance references in Korean sources seem to concern the direct southern route from Korea to the Hang-chou Bay area. In 817 a Korean Prince Kim Changnyôm 金張暇, landed in Ming-chou after being blown about by the wind (cf. *Samyak sagi* 三國史記, 46 3 [in the *Chôsen shigakkaï* 朝鮮史學會 edition Keijô 1924]), and in 896 a Korean monk, Iôm 利嚴 crossed with an envoy from Chekiang to Ming-chou in a few days (cf. *Narrô* 360 and the *Chôsen shi* 朝鮮史 of the *Chôsen asokufu* 朝鮮總督府, 2 313 [Keijô 1932]). The other references in *Narrô* (359-60) to direct crossings from Korea to central and southern China are in no way conclusive and indicate only the ultimate goals of the travelers and not their points of debarkation.

" *Junreiki* 845/7/8. It is incorrectly dated as 844 by KIMURA, *op. cit.* I 196.

" *Junreiki* 847/6/9 and the remainder of the diary. Despite the scarcity of refer-

Our information on the use of the mouth of the Huai by ships bound for or from foreign shores is somewhat greater but also is limited for the most part to the *Junreiki*. Ennin quoted a letter showing that the monk Egaku came from Japan to Ch'u-chou in the autumn of 841 and that preparations for his return to Japan were made at Ch'u-chou in the spring of 842.⁴⁸ The letters and goods sent from Japan, which Ennin's disciple Ishō 惟正 went to Ch'u-chou to get in the autumn of 842, may have come on the ship which brought Egaku.⁴⁹ Later Ennin copied into his diary two letters which related that two disciples of Ensai 圓載, a monk who had crossed to China with Ennin, returned to Japan from Ch'u-chou in 843 in search of new supplies for their master,⁵⁰ and in 845 he noted that some of Egaku's disciples were in Ch'u-chou presumably either on their way to or from Japan.⁵¹ More important evidence is the repeated assumption on the part of Ennin and his friends that Ch'u-chou was an excellent place to look for a ship bound for Japan and that Lien-shui 漣水, also on the Huai

ences, the mouth of the Yangtse was clearly considered a door to and from China, for in the same speech quoted in part in note 41 the man added "Boats which have set out from the Yangtse River (for Japan) have also landed in Silla."

A party headed by the monk Shokai 性海 which was sent from Japan to find Ennin may have landed in the Yangtse region, for on 846/2/9 and 4/27 the group was reported to be at Yang-chou. However, there is no clear indication as to whether the men landed near Yang-chou or had come there from some southern port. Since they came on the ship of Li Lun tē (846/1/9), who sailed for Japan in 842 from Ming-chou (842/5/25), one might assume that they landed in Ming-chou. KIMURA, *op cit*, 1 106, professing to base his facts on the *Junreiki*, states that Shokai landed in Ch'u-chou in about the 12th month of 846, but he unquestionably was in China almost a year earlier, and although word of his arrival first came to Ennin from Ch'u-chou there is little probability that he landed there.

Some Koreans may have landed in the region around the mouth of the Yangtse, for we know that a Silla ambassador went up the Yangtse to Ssū-ch'uan in 736 when the Chinese court fled there (cf *Samguk sagi* 9 4).

⁴⁸ *Junreiki* 812/5/25 and also 841/9/7. The ship in which he came to China seems to have been one of those which took the embassy of 838 back to Japan from Ch'u-chou in 839.

⁴⁹ *Junreiki* 812/7/21, 10/13.

⁵⁰ *Junreiki* 813/12 and 811/2. The *Shoku Nihon koki* 813/12/9 records their arrival in Japan and states that they came with the Korean 張公幹 張公幹.

⁵¹ *Junreiki* 815/7/8.

nearer its mouth, was also a place where one could expect to find such a boat.⁵²

Our data on the routes of private traders and monks between China and Japan very clearly shows a sharp contrast between the eighth century, when our few notices refer almost exclusively to the lower Yangtse, and the ninth century, when there seems to have been a lively commerce with Japan carried on from the lower Huai region and from Ming-chou and ports south of it but very little from the Yangtse area. This difference between the private intercourse of the two centuries suggests that the data on the embassies might also be divided by centuries. The results are to be seen in the following chart.

	Eighth Century Landings and Sailings	Ninth Century Landings and Sailings
Huai area and Hai-chou	3	3
Ming-chou and southern coast	1	3
Yangtse area	5	1

Clearly the embassies also fit into the general picture indicating that the Yangtse route into China was possibly the chief one in the intercourse with Japan in the eighth century but that in the ninth century the lower Yangtse was relatively unimportant in this trade while the lower Huai and the ports south of the Yangtse were more frequented by ships engaged in this trade than in the eighth century. Although the almost total lack of evidence for the seventh and earlier centuries and the relative paucity of materials for the eighth century makes any generalization concerning trends in trade routes prior to the ninth century very dangerous, the natural tentative conclusion from our study is that between the eighth and ninth centuries there was a shift in the intercourse with Japan from the lower Yangtse to the lower Huai as well as to the Chekiang and Fukien coast.

⁵² *Junrei* 845/6/23 7/3 7/9 847/6/5. The *Chu Tang shu* (199A 23b) states that a Silla embassy landed in Yen-cheng hsien in 816 after having been blown out of its normal course and the *Samguk sagi* (46 3) mentions another embassy which landed in Ch'u-chou in 832 because the usual route was blocked by Chinese rebel armies.

To explain this change is not easy but is probably best attempted on the grounds of the increasing skill of the navigators of the East China Sea. In the eighth century intercourse between Japan and China seems to have been carried on largely through the Japanese embassies. But the Japanese at this time had very little knowledge of navigation in this sea. The courses followed by the ships once they had set sail from Japan were almost purely a matter of chance, as is seen most clearly by their scattered points of landing in China. Since they could not follow even an approximate course, in returning home it made no great difference just where they embarked. Our statistics show that more started from the vicinity of the mouth of the Yangtse than from any other area, but this may have been merely because it was near where their ships had landed by chance or because this very central and easily accessible place was considered to be as good as any as a starting point for the plunge into the dark.

In the ninth century conditions were quite different. On the one hand frequent crossings were made between the ports of Chekiang and Fukien and western Japan usually by Chinese merchant captains.⁵³ In six of the seven cases in which we know how long the crossing took it was made in ten days or less. Obviously these mariners knew how to cross the East China Sea quickly and surely without the mishaps and disasters which so often befell the Japanese embassies. On the other hand the ships plying between the Huai River and Japan all seem to have been Korean vessels which followed a clearly defined route along the southern coast of Shantung and the western and southern coasts of Korea.⁵⁴ One need only read the accounts of the first two unsuccessful attempts of the Japanese embassy of 838 to cross to China,⁵⁵ the harrowing story of the final crossing as told by Ennin, and his account of his trip up the Shantung coast on another ship of the embassy,⁵⁶ and contrast these with his account of his safe and sure

⁵³ For exceptions see notes 33 and 40

⁵⁴ KIMURA (*Rekushi chin* 57 414, 418-9) is, I believe, the first to point out the fact that the northern route was in Korean hands and the southern in Chinese hands, but he cites little evidence in support of his conclusions

⁵⁵ *Shoku Nihon Loka* 836/7/15-8/20 and 837/7/22

⁵⁶ *Junrei* 839/6/23-7/3, 7/24, 8/8 and 839/4/11-6/23

return to Japan on a Korean ship in 847⁵⁶ to realize how different was the standard of navigation between the Japanese on the one hand and the Koreans and Chinese on the other⁵⁶

The blind luck crossings of the Japanese embassies was giving place in the ninth century to the controlled and consciously directed crossings of the Koreans by the northern route and the Chinese by the southern route. But neither of these two well defined routes from China to Japan in the ninth century lead primarily to or from the Yangtse region. Our data show that Ming chou and the ports scattered south of it as far as Fu chou were the home ports for the traders using the southern route and we know of only two cases of ships sailing from or landing in the vicinity of the Yangtse. In one instance the ships actually did enter the Yangtse River, but neither of these two examples is in any way typical of the trade by the southern route. In the one case the ships were manned by Japanese who may have come upon the Yangtse by accident. In the other case the ship was in the hands of Koreans who went to Japan by the northern route. Clearly the southern route in the ninth century did not lead to the Yangtse but to ports farther south.

The region of the mouth of the Yangtse was also not a main terminus for the northern route. The single ship from Su-chou which took Ennin home by the northern route does not balance the many ships which made Ch'u-chou their home port and Ennin's complete disregard of Yang-chou even while there is a place where he might find a ship bound for Japan contrasts sharply with his obvious preference for Ch'u-chou as a very promising port⁵⁷.

Corroboratory evidence can be found in the coastal trade of Shantung and Kiangsu which as described by Ennin ordinarily made use of the Huan in entering central China. Only once did

⁵⁶ *Junreki* 847/ /20-9/17

⁵⁷ An interesting commentary on the Japanese inferiority in this respect is the notice in the *Shoku A hon kôki* 839/7/17 that the Japanese authorities in Kyushû were "ordered to build a Sôla (type of) ship in order that it would be able to withstand the wind and waves."

⁵⁸ *Junreki* 845/6/28

Ennin mention a ship from Yang-chou on the coast of Shantung,⁵⁸ but he noted no less than nine ships engaged in commerce between Ch'u-chou or the mouth of the Huai and Hai-chou or Shantung ports.⁵⁹ Furthermore, while he was in Shantung, most of his news from Yang-chou came via Ch'u-chou, which indicates that the normal route from Yang-chou to Shantung was by the Grand Canal and the Huai River and not by the Yangtse and the sea.

Another indication of the true terminus of the northern route is found in the location in China of the Korean traders and mariners who controlled this trade.⁶⁰ Some were naturally scattered along the southern coast of Shantung, but in Lien-shui and Ch'u-chou on the Huai River were two Korean wards, and in these two cities the embassy of 838 was able to procure nine ships and 60 Korean seamen capable of taking the embassy back to Japan.⁶¹ Obviously then, here was the main home base of the northern route. It is true that in the Yangtse area there were some Korean mariners at Su-chou,⁶² but Yang-chou seems to have had few if any of them, for, despite Ennin's long stay there, he mentioned meeting only one Korean in that city.⁶³ The northern route may have branched down as far as Su-chou, but there is no reason to believe that this was an important branch or that it ever went up the Yangtse.⁶³

⁵⁸ *Junreiki* 840/2/15 The only comparable case is that of the Su-chou boat on which he returned to Japan via the Shantung coast

⁵⁹ *Junreiki* 839/3/26 (a boat from Hai-chou coming up the Huai), 839/3/29 (a chance ship going from the mouth of the Huai to Hai-chou), 839/4/5 and 847/intercalary 3/17 and 6/5 (two ships loaded with charcoal going from Shantung to Ch'u-chou), 845/7/9 (a ship going from Ch'u-chou to Hai-chou), 845/10/22 and 846/2/5 (two ships going from the tip of the Shantung peninsula to Ch'u-chou), 847/6/10 and 18 (two ships going from Ch'u-chou to Shantung)

⁶⁰ Since I hope to publish soon in these pages a special study of the Korean groups resident in China during the Tang dynasty, I omit much of the documentation of this paragraph

⁶¹ *Junreiki* 839/3/17 and 845/7/9

⁶² *Junreiki* 839/1/8 There is no evidence that this man, who had gone to Japan on a trading ship and who spoke Japanese, was a resident of Yang-chou

⁶³ The fact that a Korean ship which landed in Japan in 819 had some Chinese from Yüeh-chou on board who probably had come directly from China, as they brought the latest news about developments there, hints at the possibility that this Korean

If in the ninth century the southern route from Japan entered China south of the Yangtse and the northern route far north of it, there is no reason to believe that the Arab-Persian trade often went up the Yangtse. Unquestionably this trade too went primarily to the ports of Chekiang and Fukien,⁶ and, because of geographic considerations, it is only reasonable to presume that this was true from the beginning and not just since the ninth century, as was the case with the trade by the southern route to Japan. Scattered evidence proves that the lower Yangtse did carry some foreign trade both from Japan and from southern and western Asia, but it seems to have been relatively slight in the ninth century, and it was probably little if any greater in the eighth century.

The relative unimportance of the lower Yangtse in the foreign trade of the eighth and ninth centuries is not surprising. Although the Yangtse leads to the Grand Canal system of the interior, this safe inland waterway could be reached more easily by trade coming from the south through Hang-chou Bay or even by the Sung River of Su-chou at the very mouth of the Yangtse itself. Trade coming from the north naturally reached the Grand Canal through the Huai River, which was only a few tens of kilometers south of the harbors of the Shantung peninsula as opposed to the Yangtse separated by some 500 kilometers of dangerous shoals from these same harbors. Finally, in the ninth century even the small trade coming from the east began to approach China from the north or to go to the ports south of the Yangtse, leaving the Yangtse without a significant proportion of the trade which came from the south, north, or east.

The Huai, on the other hand, did have an important function as the great water gate to central China from the north. It was scarcely comparable as a trade entrance to the great southern ports visited by the Arab-Persian merchants, but in the ninth century considerable trade from Korea, Japan, and probably from Manchuria as well⁷ did pass up it to Ch'u-chou, and there is

ship had gone as far south as Hang-chou Bay Cf. *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 819/6/16 in *Kokushi taikan* 國史大系 10 509 (Tōkyō 1931)

every reason to believe that at this time the lower Huai was a more important waterway in the foreign intercourse of China than was the lower Yangtse.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ A cursory examination of the secondary material on the intercourse between China and Japan and Korea in the tenth and eleventh centuries reveals that it became increasingly concentrated in the ports south of the Yangtse and that apparently both the Huai and the Yangtse declined as routes of entry from Japan and Korea. The northern route of the Korean mariners seems to have declined, and it no longer reached to Japan. During the Five Dynasties period Japanese trade with China seems to have been solely in the hands of Chinese from the state of Wu yueh 吳越, occupying Chekiang the Su chou area and part of Fukien (cf. KIMURA *op cit*, I 356-62 and NISHIOKA Toranosuke, *Nippon to Goetsu to no kotsu* 西岡虎之助, *日本と吳越との交通* *Rekishi chin* 42 32-62), while in the Northern Sung period intercourse between Japan and China seems to have been carried on primarily by Chinese traders from Ming-chou and from other neighboring coastal districts such as Su-chou Tai-chou Fu-chou and Chuan-chou (cf. KIMURA *op cit*, I 377-89).

During the tenth and eleventh centuries Korean traders and ambassadors continued to cross over to the Shantung peninsula and to Hai-chou (cf. NAITÔ 317-21, 338-40), and presumably some of them went on to Ch u-chou but we have no textual proof of this. At the same time direct Korean intercourse with the area south of the Yangtse began to surpass Korean intercourse with north China and as in the case of Japan there was a clear shift of trade to the area south of the Yangtse. See note 7 and cf. NAITÔ 356-74 and CHANG Tao-yuan *Ning po-shih tsai kuo-chi t'ung shang shih shang chih ti wei* 張道淵, *甯波市在國際通商史上之地位*, *Kuo-feng* 國風, vol. 3 no. 9 p. 31, 32.

THE BANANA IN CHINESE LITERATURE

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The time of the introduction of the banana to China cannot be definitely established. Prior to the Christian era Chinese civilization centered in the Yellow and Yangtze River valleys and for that reason early Chinese written records describe those parts of the country almost exclusively. Consequently the banana, a tropical and sub tropical plant, was probably unknown to the ancient Chinese and is not referred to in their earliest literature. Only at the beginning of our era did Chinese civilization move southward and only about the second century did descriptions of southeast China appear. Though the banana may have been for centuries a common fruit in the Canton region, it could not be described until northerners began to settle there.

The word *chiao* 蕉 which is now the generic Chinese term for fibrous plants of the *musaceae* family did not originally mean a fruit, but one of the many plant fibres, such as hemp, which the Chinese used for making linen. The word appears in the early Chinese dictionary, *Shuo wen chieh tzu* 說文解字, compiled in 100 A D, and the definition given is "a plant fibre" 生糸¹. In the rhythmic prose poem, entitled *Wu tu fu* 吳都賦,² written in the third century A D, describing the splendor and luxury of the city now known as Soochow, the word *chiao* is not mentioned among the fruits, but in connection with materials for making linen.³ When linen woven with fibres from plants of the *musaceae* family

¹ *Shuo-wen chieh tzu* (Northern Sung ed., reproduced in *Ssu pu tsung lan* 1st series) 1 T/8a.

² *Wu tu fu* by Tao Ssu 左思 (in the anthology *Wen xuan* 文選 Sung ed., reproduced in *Ssu pu tsung lan* 1st series) 5/21a.

³ The word *chiao* appeared in three or four other ancient works. But in one case the word was used for another one and in the other cases the books which used it have been shown to be apocryphal. Details below.

came to North China, it was named *chiao* because of its similarity to the linen made with other plant fibres, such as hemp, etc. Later the name was applied to the banana plant and then to the fruit. As more species came to be known, *chiao* became the general name of the family, and auxiliary words were prefixed or added to differentiate them. As these auxiliary words were at first not standardized, we have for the fruit-bearing species, and for the fruit itself, the different terms, *kan-chiao* 甘蕉, *chiao-tzŭ* 蕉子, and *hsiang-chiao* 香蕉, all containing the generic term *chiao* with the qualifiers: *kan* meaning "sweet," *hsiang* meaning "fragrant," and *tzŭ* meaning, perhaps, "seed" or "fruit."

The approximate time of the transplanting of the banana to North China cannot be settled definitely. The *San-fu huang-t'u* 三輔黃圖, author unknown, but dating about the third century A. D., has a reference to *kan-chiao* which has been quoted in many later works. It sets a definite date for the transplanting of *kan-chiao* from Annam to Sian in northwestern China.

In the sixth year of Yuan ting [1 e, 111 B C] of the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, Annam was vanquished. The palace Fu li kung 扶荔宮 [so named on account of its lichee plants] was built [in Sian, then the national capital] for transplanting the newly acquired plants. among which were twelve plants of the *kan-chiao*, etc. Because the climates of the North and the South are different, most of the plants soon died. *

The authenticity of this statement is at least debatable, on the ground that the author was relating an event which had happened some four hundred years before his time, and furthermore he did not give the source of his information. Moreover, we have no other document, written before the third century, to corroborate this statement. And even if the statement were true, the introduction of these twelve *kan-chiao* plants could not have affected much the knowledge about them because they died soon after transplanting.

Although the *San-fu huang-t'u* cannot be regarded authoritative for an event of the second century B. C., it demonstrates that an author in the third century A. D. used the term, *kan-chiao* to denote the banana plant. Disturbances in North China after the

* *San-fu huang t'u* (Yüan ed., reproduced in *Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an*, 3rd series) 3/8a.

second century A. D., which continued more or less for several centuries, caused intermittent migrations to the south. The result was that Chinese civilization extended to provinces farther south, such as Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Poets and men of letters began to make notes of things in the south, and native southern authors began to appear. One of the earliest of such authors, a native of Kwangtung, was YANG Fu 楊孚, who was an official at the end of the Later Han Dynasty and flourished about the second century. He wrote a work on the Kwantung region entitled 異物志 *I-wu chih*, or "Record of Strange Things." As the title indicates, this work describes the unusual things of South China—unusual, that is, in the eyes of the northern readers of his day. He gave a description of the banana plant—here called *pa-chiao* 芭蕉, which is perhaps the earliest description of that plant in Chinese works. We know it to be the same plant because he also gave it the alternate name, *kan-chiao*. The following is a translation of Yang Fu's description:

Pa-chiao has leaves as large as mats. Its stem is like a [bamboo] shoot. After boiling, the stem breaks into fibres and can be used for weaving cloth. Women weavers make this fibre into fine or coarse linen which is known now as *chiao-chih* [Cochin-China] linen. The center of the plant is shaped like a garlic-bulb and is as large as a plate(?) There the fruit grows and holds the 'stem'. One stem bears several tens of fruits. The fruit has a reddish skin like the color of fire and when peeled the inside pulp is dark. The pulp is edible and is very sweet, like sugar or honey. Four or five of these fruits are enough for a meal. After eating the flavor lingers on among the teeth. *Kan-chiao* is another name for it.*

Being himself a native of Kwangtung, where bananas and plantains are produced, YANG Fu undoubtedly wrote from direct knowledge.

Another man, Ku Hui 顧徽, who lived from about 170 to 250 A. D., wrote on the Kwangtung region in a work entitled *Kuang-chou chi* 廣州記. Though himself a native of Kiangsu he had apparently travelled to Kwangtung and left a very interesting note on the *kan-chiao*.

The *kan-chiao* plant [in Kwangtung] has flowers, fruits, leaves and roots similar to those of the *kan-chiao* plant in Kiang-nan [i. e., Kiangsu]. The only difference is that since the climate of this southern land is warmer, and experiences no frost nor freezing,

* *I-wu chih* (ed. in the collection *Ling-nan t-shu* 嶺南遺書 of 1831), p. 12a.

the plant flourishes through all the four seasons. The ripened fruit is sweet, but when green is bitter and acid.⁶

This definitely gives the impression that when this author wrote, *kan-chiao* plants were also grown in the lower Yangtze Valley, only they did not flourish the year round and the fruit was probably not so sweet.

From these two works, the *I-wu chih* and the *Kuang-chou chi*, it can be inferred that the banana became known and was planted in central China not later than the early part of the third century, but had been cultivated in South China in much earlier times.

Later, CHI Han 嵇含 (d. sometime before 307 A.D.), in a work entitled *Nan-fang ts'ao-mu chuang* 南方草木狀 (Description of Plants and Trees of the Southern Region), completed in 304, listed *kan-chiao* as the first item among southern plants

Kan-chiao plants look like trees. The larger ones are as big as a man can encircle with his arms. The leaves are as long as seven, eight or even ten feet, and have a width of more than two feet. The flowers at the end of the stem are about the size of wine vessels and resemble lotus(?) flowers. One plant yields more than a hundred fruits, each with a separate chamber but linked together. The fruit is sweet and delicious and can be preserved with sugar. The root is like that of the taro and as large as the hub of a wheel. Following the flowers come the fruits. Each flower bears six fruits which come out one after another. The fruits do not grow out together and the flowers do not fall at the same time. Another name for *kan chiao* is *pa chiao*. It is also known as *pa chu* 芭蕉. When one peels off the skin of the fruit, he finds the inside has a yellowish white color and tastes like grapes, sweet and mellow. It alleviates hunger. There are three kinds [of banana fruits]. One kind is as big as a thumb long and pointed, resembling the horn of a goat and therefore called *yang chiao chiao* 羊角蕉 or "goat horn" *chiao*. This has the best flavor. Another kind is as big as an egg and because it resembles the shape of a cow's nipple is called *niu-ju-chiao* 牛乳蕉. The taste of this kind is not as good as that of the "goat horn" variety. A third kind is as big as the lotus root with a length of six or seven inches and tetragonal in shape. This kind is not so sweet and ranks the lowest of the three. The stalk of the plant can be dissolved into fibre. After boiling in lime water this fibre is woven into fine or coarse linen, known as *chiao-lo* 蕉葛. Although this linen is crisp, it is good [in quality]. It is of a yellowish white color, unlike linen made from hemp which is reddish. These plants are produced in Cochinchina and in Kwangtung.⁷

⁶ *Kuang-chou chi*: quotation from *Ch'i-min yao shu* 齊民要術 (Ming manuscript reproduced in *Ssu-pu ts'ung k'an* 1st series), 10/22a.

⁷ *Nan-fang ts'ao-mu chuang* (1027 reproduction of Sung ed., in the collection *Po-ch'uan hsiieh-hai* 百川學海) 上/1a.

Another reference, dating from about the fourth century, is found in the *Kuang chih* 廣志, a collection of notes on plants, animals and minerals of different localities, compiled by Kuo I kung 郭義恭.⁸ It gives the names *pa-chiao*, *pa chu*, and *kan chiao* as all denoting the same plant and dilates on both the edible value of the fruit and the fibre value of the plants. Cochin China and Fukien are given as the places of production.

Beginning from the fifth century the *chiao* plant became more and more a popular subject in literature. The fruit, the flower and, above all, the leaves of the *pa chiao* became a favorite topic of poets. Such men of letters as Hsieh Ling yun 謝靈運 (385-433), Piên Ching tsung 庾敬宗 (fifth century), and Shen Yueh 沈約 (441-513), all wrote poems and eulogies on the *kan chiao* or the *pa chiao*. Chia Ssu hsieh 賈思勰 (c. 6th century), in his book *Ch'ü-m n yao shu* (see note 6), one of the earliest Chinese works on agriculture, lists *kan chiao* as one of the products of 'foreign origin,' with quotations drawn from the earlier sources mentioned above.

Much later, Fan Ch'eng ta 范成大 (1126-1193), who for two years (1172-74) was an official in Kweichow, Kwangsi, wrote about the banana plants in that province. In his work *Kuei hai yü hêng chih*⁹ 桂海虞衡志, he names three varieties of *chiao* fruits: *chiao tzu*, *chi chiao tzu* 雞蕉子, and *ya chiao tzu* 芽蕉子. The first two, he says, bear fruit the year round, while the last bears only in early autumn (see also the appended translation).

Kü Chieh 顧玠, who was an official in the Island of Hainan from 1522 to 1527, described the banana plants of the Island in his work *Hai-ch'ü yü-lu* 海槎餘錄.¹⁰ He asserts that banana fruits were then common in Hainan and that the plants flower and bear fruit the year round, unlike the *pa chiao* of his homeland, the lower Yangtze region where they thrive but do not bloom, or bloom but do not yield fruit. He lists two kinds of bananas: *pan chiao* 板蕉 and *fo-shou chiao* 佛手蕉 (see appended translation).

⁸ *Kuang-chih* (in *Yu-han shan fang ch'ü-shu* 王函山房輯佚書 1860) 下/9a.

⁹ *Kuei-hai yü hêng ch'ü* (in *Hsueh-hai lei-pien* 學海類編 reproduction of 1826 ed.) p. 25a.

¹⁰ *Hai-ch'ü yü-lu* (in *Pao-yen t'ang mi-chi* 寶顏堂秘笈 1920) p. 4b.

In his *Hsueh pu tsa su* 學圃雜疏¹¹ WANG Shih mou 王世懋 (1536 1588), one time educational commissioner of Fukien, described some varieties of the banana plants of that province. He ranked the *mei jên chiao* 美人蕉 or *Musa Uranoscopos* (?) of Foo chow as the most beautiful in the *pa chiao* family, and asserted that the most desirable fruits were to be found in the regions of Ch'uan chou and Chang chou.

Ch'u Ta chun 屈大均 (1630 1696), a poet, and a native of Kwangtung, gave a very good account of the banana plants in his province, in a work entitled *Kuang tung hsin-yu* 廣東新語¹². He lists five different species, all of which were known for their fruit. (1) The *hsiang-ya chiao* 香芽蕉, also called *lung nai chiao* 龍奶蕉, is sweet and has red spots on the leaves. Wooden frames should be erected to prop these plants, because the wind is likely to break them down when they are heavily laden with fruit. (2) The *nuu zu chiao*, (3) the *ku ch'ui chiao* 鼓槌蕉, and (4) the *pan-chiao*, are all large and taste rather flat. The *ku ch'ui chiao*, moreover, has seeds and is trigonal. (5) The *fo shou chiao*, which has a length of six or seven inches, is thin skinned and is very sweet. He also lists three species which do not yield fruit but are known for the beauty of their leaves and flowers. (1) the *shui chiao* 水蕉, or *lien hua chiao* 蓮花蕉, has flowers like those of the lotus, (2) the *lan-chiao* 蘭蕉, or *mei jên-chiao*, has flowers like orchids and is planted in water, (3) the *tan-p'ing chiao* 膽瓶蕉 is smaller in size and its flowers can be put in vases. Kwantung, he stated, is the country for banana plants and many natives raise them for a livelihood. The kind raised for fibre he called *pu chiao* 布蕉 ("cloth" *chiao*), which, he said, should be planted in mountainous regions. He quoted a Kwantung proverb as saying "Clothing *chiao* flourishes in barren lands and eating *chiao* flourishes in fertile soil. Fertile soil is good for the fruits and barren land is good for the fibre." He states that in the Hsi-chou 西洲 district, where better fruits are produced than in other places, a special method of cultivation is employed. The growers plant *chiao* for

¹¹ *Hsueh pu tsa-su* (in *Pao-yen t'ang mi-chi*) p. 46

¹² *Kuang tung hsin-yu* 1670 27/5a

three or four years, whereupon these plants are cut off and white sugar cane is planted instead for two years. By rotating the crops like this a better and sweeter fruit is obtained. He also refers to banana flavored wine and to a way of ripening green bananas by putting them in rice for a few days so that they come to their full fragrant flavor.

The term *hsiang-chiao* first appears in the 皇華紀聞 *Huang-hua chi-wên*, by WANG Shih-chên 王士禎 (1634-1711).¹³ WANG was a well-known poet from Shantung in North China who was sent to Canton in 1684 in an official capacity.

The great Chinese encyclopaedia *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng* 圖書集成,¹⁴ allots *chuan* (chapter) 185 of the *Ts'ao-mu tien* 草木典 (Section on Grass and Trees) to the banana and illustrates it. Drawing its information from various sources, it lists twelve kinds of *chiao* as follows: *pa-chu*, *kan-chiao*, *ya-chiao* 芽蕉, *pa-chiao*, *t'ien-chu* 天蕉, *pan-chiao*, *chi-chiao*, *hung-chiao* 紅蕉, *mei-jên-chiao*, *fo-shou-chiao*, *yang-chiao-chiao*, and *niu-ju-chiao*. It intimates that these plants are largely grown in the provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Fukien.

There is a valuable class of books in China treating plants for medicinal purposes, which are known as Herbals, or *pên-ts'ao* 本草. They are primarily treatises on materia medica, but as most of the medicaments used by old-style Chinese physicians are derived from plants, these *pên-ts'ao* often contain important information on both wild plants and cultivated crops.¹⁵ The earliest of these, the *Shên-nung pên-ts'ao ching* 神農本草經, is attributed to the legendary emperor Shên-nung, but was most likely compiled in the first or second century. It was utilized by T'AO Hung-ching 陶弘景 (c. 452-536 A. D.) in his work on medicine, entitled *Ming-i pieh-lu* 明醫別錄. Later re-edited and enlarged by SU Kung 蘇恭 in the middle of the seventh century, it then became known as the *T'ang pên-ts'ao* 唐本草. In the eleventh century, under an imperial order, SU Sung 蘇頌 (1020-1101) compiled a much larger

¹³ *Huang-hua chi-wên*, 1684, 3/18b

¹⁴ *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng* 1894 ed. (originally printed in 1726 lithographically reproduced in 1894), section XX, *chuan* 185

¹⁵ *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress* 1930, p. 369

work of the same nature with illustrations, entitled *T'u-ching pên-ts'ao* 圖經本草. "One of the most famous herbals ever published in China is the *Chêng lei pên-ts'ao* 證類本草, compiled by T'ANG Shên-wei 唐慎微 in 1108 A. D. Many editions of this herbal have been published and it was doubtless the leading work in its class for nearly five hundred years. It was finally superseded by the *Pên-ts'ao kang-mu* 本草綱目 of LI Shih-chên 李時珍, published in 1590. . . ." ¹⁶

The *Pên-ts'ao kang-mu* incorporates most of the information of preceding *Pên-ts'ao*, besides material collected from other medical and non-medical books. It quotes about eight hundred authors. Descriptions of 1,518 drug materials were collected from various old works, and Li Shih-chên himself added another 374, making a total of 1,892 drugs enumerated. Though the book is named *Pên-ts'ao* (Roots and Plants), it actually deals with many other materials usable as drugs. In his monumental work LI Shih-chên has much to say about the banana and the following is a translation.¹⁷

KAN-CHIAO ¹⁸

(Listed in *Ming-i pieh-lu* as "least effective [as a medicine]")

Section 1: INTERPRETATION OF THE TERMS. *pa-chiao*, *t'ien-chu*, and *pa chu* *

According to the work, *P'i-ya* 埤雅, by LU Tien 陸佃 [11th-12th century], the *chiao* never sheds its leaves. When one leaf emerges, another dries up [𤇀, pronounced *chiao* and meaning "scorched" or "dried"] Hence it is called *chiao* 𤇀. Colloquially, desiccated things are called "*pa*" [巴] Hence the word "*pa*" is also applied to that plant. According to the *Chi shêng fu* 嵇聖賦, a rhythmic prose poem by CHI Shêng [presumably CHI K'ang 嵇康, 223-262], "When the

¹⁶ *Id.*, p. 370

¹⁷ English translation originally made by Mr HSIA Yun 夏雲

¹⁸ The Chapter on *kan-chiao* (banana plant) in the *Pên ts'ao kang mu*, a Chinese work on *Materia Medica*, edited by LI Shih-chên, first edition (1590), *chüan* 15, pp. 51b-53b

* This denotes that the section or paragraph is added by LI Shih-chên and is not found in former editions of the *pên ts'ao*

bamboo has its shoot, its root is bitter, when the *chiao* blooms, its stalk [sheath] becomes dry "

The term, *pa chu*, is a variation of the term, *pa chiao*. Natives of Shu [present Szechwan Province] pronounce it " *t'ien chu* "

Ts'ao Shu 曹叔雅, in his *I wu chih* 異物志, says, " The *pa chiao* bears fruit, the skin of which is red like fire and the pulp is sweet as honey. Four or five fruits are enough to satisfy one's hunger. The flavor and taste remain in the mouth. Hence it is called *lan chiao* ['sweet' chiao] "

Section 2 COLLECTED EXPOSITIONS [about the plant and fruit]

T'ao Hung ching [in his *Ming i pieh lu*, written in the early 6th century] says " Banana plants originally grew in Kuang chou [present Canton and its environs]. At present they also grow in Chiang tung [present southern Kiangsu] where they have the same kind of roots and leaves [as those of Kuang chou] but bear fruits which are not edible "

Su Kung [in his edition of the *T'ang Pên ts'ao*, compiled in the middle of the seventh century] says, " The banana plants which grow in Ling nan [i. e. Kwangtung and Kwangsi] bear large fruits which taste sweet, but those which grow in the North have only flowers and bear no fruit "

Su Sung [in his *T'u chung pên ts'ao* of the 11th century] says " At present there are banana plants in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Fukien and Szechwan. Those which grow in the first three provinces bear fruit which is edible and tastes very sweet and delicious. Those found elsewhere may grow luxuriantly, but seldom bloom. Of late they are profusely cultivated in Chung-chou [central China, including Honan] but are all *pa-chiao* [i. e., the fruitless variety] "

" There are many kinds of banana plants. The one which bears fruit is called *lan chiao*. In the midst of the enfolding leaves grows a stem on which the flowers bloom. New buds have large calyxes shaped like lotus flowers hanging down and ranged in more than ten rows. As the buds grow larger, flowers burst out luxuriantly. The red kind looks like a torch and is called red *chiao*, the white variety looks like wax and is named water *chiao*. Some have large flowers like ivory and are called ivory *chiao* "

The fruits are differentiated into green and yellow varieties. Their quality also differs widely. The sweetest kind can be dried in the sun

and sent to distant places. Preserved banana is considered a delicacy in the North.

"The stalk can be decomposed into threads which the natives of Fukien treat with lime water and weave into a cloth known as *chiaio lo* [蕉葛, banana linen]"

K'ou Tsung shih 寇宗奭 [11th 12th century] says "When *pa-chiao* [the fruitless kind?] is over three years old, it begins to produce flowers which come out from the center. One stem bears only one flower, like the lotus. The petals are also similar to those of the lotus. Only the color is yellowish green. There are no stamens and pistils, but only petals. The tip of the flower often hangs down. A single flower blooms from mid summer to mid autumn. After three petals spread, three others fall off."

According to WAN Chên 萬震 [third century] in his *Nan chou i-wu chih* 南州異物志 "[Fruit bearing] *lan chiaio* is the same kind of plant as [fruitless] *pa chiaio*. *Kan chiaio* is a kind of grass but looks like a tree. The larger ones measure more than a man's embrace, with leaves more than ten feet long and one to two feet wide. Its stem, soft as a taro, is formed by overlapping pieces of bark. The root is like taro too, is dark in color, and is as large as the hub of a wheel. The flower blooms at the end of the stem, and has the size of a wine cup and the shape and color of a lotus. The fruits are separated from each other and grow with the flowers. Each group of flowers bears six fruits, ranged one next to the other. The flowers do not fall at the same time, nor do the fruits grow at the same time."

"There are three kinds of banana. They taste acrid before ripening but, when ripened, they are sweet and crisp and taste like grapes. They can satisfy hunger. The first kind bears fruit as large as a human thumb, six or seven inches long, pointed as a goat's horns, and growing by twos. It is called the 'goat horn banana,' with fruit whose pulp is yellowish white and tastes most delicious. The second kind bears fruit as large as chicken eggs and shaped like the nipple of a cow. Thus it is called the 'cow nipple banana.' Its taste is not as good as the first. The third kind has fruit as large as lotus seeds, four or five inches long and tetragonal in shape, but its taste is the poorest of the three. All these bananas can be preserved with sugar."¹⁹

¹⁹ This description of the banana by WAN Chên is almost the same word for word as that given by CHU Han (pp. 5-6). As the two men were contemporaries it is diffi-

According to the work *Hai ch'a lu* by K'ü Chieh, "On Hainan Island, the *pa-chiao* blooms and bears fruit the year round. It produces two kinds of fruit. One kind known as *pan chiao* 板蕉 (wooden-board *chiao*), is large but tastes insipid. The other kind known as *fo shou chiao* 佛手蕉 (Buddha's finger *chiao*), is smaller but tastes sweet, and is commonly called *chiao tzü*. The *pa chiao* plants in Hainan are not like those in the Yangtze Valley, which thrive but do not bloom, or bloom but do not yield fruit."

FAN Ch'êng ta, in his [*Kuei hai*] *yu hêng chih* [12th century] said, "In the South there are several kinds of *pa chiao*. The largest kind does not wither in winter. A stem several feet in length grows from the center [of the plant]. Flowers bloom on every joint of the stem. When the flowers fall, the fruit grows. After peeling, the pulp inside the fruit is soft as green persimmon and tastes sweet. There is fruit in all the four seasons. The natives use it to feed babies and say that it has a cooling effect. These fruits are called *chiao tzü*, or *niu chiao-tzü* 牛蕉子. They can be preserved by being soaked in sugared plum juice, dried, and then pressed flat. Thus cured they retain a little frost on the outside and taste sweet and sour, and are known as *pa chiao lan* 芭蕉乾 (dried banana). Another kind of *pa chiao* fruit, known as *chi-chiao tzü* 雞蕉子 (chicken banana), is smaller and also bears fruit through the four seasons. There is a third kind, known as *ya chiao tzü* 芽蕉子 (bud banana), which bears fruit in early autumn, is even smaller than the *chi chiao tzü*, and tastes tenderer, sweeter, and more delicious. A fourth kind, called *hung chiao* (red banana), has thin leaves much like those of the reed, and has flowers as red as those of the pomegranate. One or two of its leaves bend themselves, and on the tips of these leaves are lovely green spots. This fourth kind blooms from spring to the end of autumn, and is commonly called *mei jên chiao* 美人蕉 (beauty banana). A fifth kind is called *tan-p'ing chiao* 膽瓶蕉 (vase banana) because when its shoots sprout from the earth it is fat and shaped like a vase."

FEI Hsin 費信 [about 1436] in his work on the South Sea islands entitled *Hsing ch'a shêng lan* 星槎勝覽, said "In the Nan fan 南番 and Alu 阿魯 countries, there is no rice nor grain and the natives only cultivate banana and cocoanut for food."

Section 3 THE BANANA FRUIT

A Nature [of the fruit as a drug] Sweet, very cold poisonless

B Medicinal effect

When eaten raw, it quenches thirst and lubricates the lungs. After it is cooked by steaming dry it in the sun until it bursts then grind the pulp to powder. Thus prepared it is taken to stimulate the circulation of the blood and to strengthen the marrow in the bones—According to MENG Hsin 孟詵 [died 713 A.D. in his *Shih hao pen tsao* 食料(療)本草 of 706 A.D.]

Eaten raw, it helps to stop bleeding and to heal wounds. After being dried [the powder can be mixed in water] to be taken as a cure for fever—According to Wu Jui 吳瑞 [14th century in his *Jih yung pen tsao* 日用本草]

It has a cooling effect on babies suffering from heat [or fever] and counteracts poisoning by chemicals *

Section 4 THE BANANA ROOT

A Nature

Sweet very cold poisonless Su Kung said It is cold Su Sung said [The roots] of *kan chiao* [fruit bearing plant] and *pa-chiao* [fruitless kind] have the same nature

B Medicinal effect [of the root]

It cures abscesses and fever—According to Ming i pieh lu

The crushed roots can be applied to sunburn boils to take away the heat and juice from crushed roots can be taken after parturition to release distension of blood and help breathing—According to Su Kung

It cures jaundice—According to MENG Hsin

Its juice can be taken to cure contagious fevers to help breathing to quench thirst to cure abscesses to counteract poisoning by cinna bar and to stop dryness and high temperature of the mouth it also cures headache and measles—According to Ta Ming [Jih hua pen tsao 大明日華本草 (Ming dynasty work)]

C Prescriptions [with the root]

(There were four prescriptions in former editions. Two more are added in this edition) [Original note of Li Shih chen]

Apply crushed banana roots to cure serious carbuncles on the back all kinds of tumefaction measles and headache with fever—According to the 肘後方 *Chou hou fang* [by Ko Hung 葛洪 (3rd century)]

Rinse mouth with a bowl of juice from crushed banana root to stop toothache—According to 普濟方 *Pu chi fang* [by Chu Yu tun 朱有燾, Prince of Chou 周世王 of the Ming dynasty]

Take drinks of juice from crushed banana root to cure contagious fevers—According to *[Ta Ming] Jih hua pén ts'ao*

Drink two or three cups of juice from crushed banana roots to quench thirst from fever in the joints, take twice daily the soup made by boiling equal amounts of banana roots and hypericum to cure astringent pain from urinating blood—According to 聖惠方 *Shéng hui fang* [by Emperor Tai tsung of Sung (937-997)]

To cure blood distension after parturition, take a drink of two or three cups of warmed juice from crushed banana root *

It is helpful to apply the juice from crushed banana roots to abscesses or wounds that will not heal—According to 直指方 *Chih chih fan* [by YANG Ying 楊瀛] *

Section 5 BANANA OIL

Insert bamboo tube into the bark of the banana plant to get the oil and keep it in bottles

A Nature

Sweet, cooling, and poisonless

B Medicinal effects

It cures headache with fever, quenches thirst, and can be applied to burns from fire or hot water, it also can be used as a hair tonic, stops women's hair from falling and helps the hair to grow long and dark—According to *Ta Ming [jih-hua pén ts'ao]*

It has wonderful effects as a cure for epileptic fits by making the patient drink it and so cause him to vomit—According to Su Sung

C Prescriptions (Not contained in former editions)

To cure convulsions of a baby, heat and mix evenly the oils from banana and mint, then apply the mixture to the baby's head (except the forehead) and its limbs (except the extremities)—According to *Wei shéng Tsa hsing* 衛生雜典, by TENG Pi feng 鄧筆峯

Section 6 BANANA LEAVES

A Medicinal effect

To cure boils in the early stage apply a mixture of powdered banana leaves and juice from fresh ginger—Copied, with modification, from *Shéng hui fang*

B Prescription (This prescription is not found in earlier editions)

To cure boils just starting, apply a mixture of sesame oil and powdered banana leaves made by heating them moderately in a flat iron. Apply thrice daily, and then the boil will either diminish or heal after opening, but in either way there will be no scar—Copied from *Jên chai Chih chih fang*

Section 7 BANANA FLOWER

To cure convulsions of the heart and pain with temperature, take about 15% of an ounce of powdered banana flower—made by grinding moderately with a little salt water added—Copied from *Ta Ming jih hua pên ts'ao*



Picture of the *kan-chiao* taken from the *Chih-ku ming-shih tu kao* 植物名實圖考,
by Wu Chi-chun 吳其濬 1848 ed., 14/7a, in the Library of Congress

之隨偏腫處以傅之一
宿當作瘡二十日愈
時後方小兒禿取白頭翁根搗
傳一宿或作瘡下日愈

衍義曰

白頭翁生河南洛陽界及新安土山中性溫止腹痛暖腰
脉唐本注及藥性論甚詳陶隱居失於不審宜其辨此也

新安縣界兼山野中屢嘗見之正如唐本注所說至今本
如山中人實白頭翁丸言服之壽考又失古人命名之意

芭蕉花



南恩川甘蕉



甘蕉根大寒主癰腫結熱

固隱居

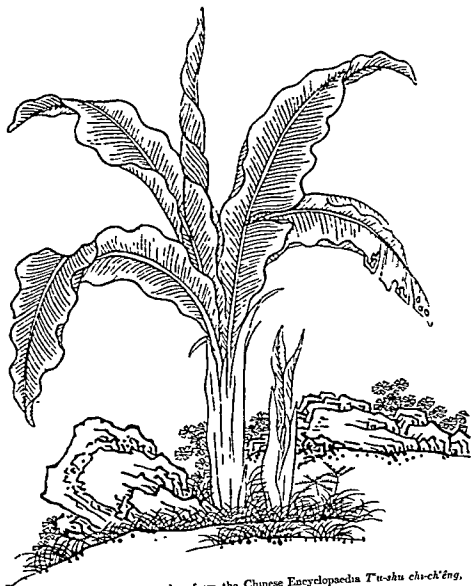
云本出廣州今都下東間
並有根葉無異惟子不似食兩根

Above, A Woodcut of the *pa-chiao* flower

Below A Woodcut of the *kan chiao* of Nan-en-chou Kwangtung Province

Reproduced from the original print of a *Chêng-tei pen-ts'ao* of
1249 A D in the Library of Congress

蕉圖



A picture of the Banana, taken from the Chinese Encyclopaedia *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng*, 1894 ed., in the Library of Congress

THE SO-CALLED FINAL WEI

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On March 17, 1798 WANG Yin-chih 王引之 signed as ready for publication an indispensable collection in ten chapters of glosses to the old classical Chinese texts, and gave it the name of *Ching chuan shih tz'ü* 經傳釋詞. It was published two decades later, in 1819, under the patronage of JUAN Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849).¹ In chapter two of this work the character *wei* 爲 is one of the subjects treated. It occupies five pages in the small, handy edition easily at the disposal of all. One will find within these five pages many striking and questionable definitions, but at this writing our attention is directed to only one of them. On page 34, column 7, *wei* is defined 語助—"speech-auxiliary," and, in the good philological manner, numerous citations are provided to support the thesis.

In the examples adduced WANG shows that he is not the first Chinese to suggest this interpretation for some final *weis*. The *Li chi* (19.6b)² records that Tsêng tzü once asked Confucius this question: "When sacrificing, must there be a corpse-representative?" 祭必有尸乎 CHÊNG Hsuan 鄭玄 (127-200 A.D.) understood Tsêng tzü to expect a negative answer, for he remarked: "The meaning is that there is no benefit, no use—" 言無益無用爲. K'UNG Ying-ta 孔穎達 (574-648) found it necessary to elucidate this note with the following statement: "Sacrifice is to

¹ In *Huang Ch'ing ching chieh* 皇清經解 272-273 (Kuang-chou Hsüeh hai-t'ang ed.) I am using the reprint in The Commercial Press's *Wan-yu wen k'u* 萬有文庫.

In addition to my own notes, I have also drawn material from the following as well as from WANG Yin-chih YANG Shu-ta's *Tz'ü ch'üan* 8 23 24 楊樹達, 詞詮 (Com Press, 1928) and YANG Po-hsün's *Chung-kuo wen-fa yü wen t'ung chieh* 505 楊伯峻, 中國文法語文通解 (Com Press, 1936).

² I use the lithograph edition of *The Thirteen Classics* prepared by the Chun-chang t'u shu-chu 錦章圖書局, Shanghai, 1926. The same edition is used for reference in *Yin-tê* 27 and 31 (*Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*).

³ For the moment I do not translate the *wei*.

the divinities; one does not sacrifice to the living. Today, by sacrificing to the living there is no benefit to the dead. Therefore, [CHENG Hsuan] says, 'There is no benefit.' As for 無用爲, [it means] there is no use being this corpse-representative. Other expounders say that, as for 無用爲, [it means] that there is no need for this corpse-representative.⁴ Wei is a speech-auxiliary." 祭是祭神, 不祭生人。今祭生人無益死者, 故云無益。云無用爲者, 無用爲此尸。一解云, 無用爲者, 無用此之 [尸] 爲。爲是助語。 This carries the interpretation back to at least 600 A.D., but shows that K'UNG Ying-ta favored taking the *wei* as a verb. It is the aim of our discussion to determine whether or not we agree with the descendant of the sage.

Characteristic of a large number of the examples is a famous phrase from the *Lun yü* (LEGGE 12.8.1). It is asserted by an interlocutor that the *chun tzü* is nothing other than substance or stuff; 何以文爲! HUANG K'an 皇侃 (488-545), commenting upon this in the 6th century of our era, remarks rather ambiguously 何必用於文華乎? This probably means, "What absolute need [is there for the *chun tzü*] in regard to refinement?" As it happens so often, we cannot be sure of the commentator's literal rendering of the classic. Some might want to see here an equation 乎 = 爲. The Sung commentator, HSING Ping 邢昺 (932-1010), gives no cause for argument. He understood the text to mean, "Of what use refinement to become a *chun tzü*?" 何用文章乃爲君子? Let us return, however, to HUANG K'an. His use of *pi*—"must" is not justified by the text. It is possible that a misreading has crept in, and the suspicion is further enhanced by his note to another

⁴ The 之 of the text makes no sense. It must be an error for 尸

⁵ Cf. *Lun-yü chi-chieh i-su* 集解義疏 6 28b (in 知不足齋叢書 25-26) The whole paragraph reads in A. Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, 164-5 "Chü Tzū-ch'eng said, A gentleman is a gentleman in virtue of the stuff he is made of. Culture cannot make gentlemen. Tzū kung said, I am sorry, Sir, that you should have said that. For the saying goes that 'when a gentleman has spoken, a team of four horses cannot overtake his words'."

"Culture is just as important as inborn qualities, and inborn qualities, no less important than culture. Remove the hairs from the skin of a tiger or panther, and what is left looks just like the hairless hide of a dog or sheep."

⁶ *Lun yü* 12 2a15

passage in the *Lun yü*. *Lun yü* 13.5 reads 雖多，亦奚以爲。 "Although [his learning] may be great, what good, indeed, is it?" Here HUANG K'an's note is clearer: 亦何所爲用哉? "Of what use is his activity," where *so wei* must be taken as synonymous with 誦詩三百, part of the *Lun yü* text at this point. *Yung* is the usual interpretation of *i*. It is possible, therefore, that we should read a *wei* for the troublesome *pi* in HUANG's note quoted above, so that it would be translated, "Why the need for refinement?"

WANG Yin-chih would even see a particle in the phrase 無以爲也 (*Lun yü* 19.24), but both HUANG K'an and HSING Ping understand it to mean "do" or "make": "There is no reason to do it." HUANG's gloss reads: 使無以爲毀,* HSING's reads 言無用爲此毀譽?.

All of these examples and a large number more¹⁰ contain an

* Regarding the 奚 here as well as below (note 10 [2 examples] and p 183 [text to note 11]) cf G VON DER GABELENTZ, *Chinesische Grammatik* (1881), 485. There it is emphasized that *hsi* means "why," a translation that is much clearer than the Chinese definition 何. Furthermore, the character is a phonetic borrowing used to write a synaeretic expression signifying "why." Von der Gabelentz believes that it is to be analyzed as 何 + 以, but 何 + 爲 would also be a possibility to consider. In either case, it is interesting to note that contaminated expressions such as *hsi-i* and *hsi-wei* seem to abound.

⁷ *Lun-yü chi-chieh* : su 7 6a6. Cf WALEY's translation (172 3) "The Master said, A man may be able to recite the three hundred *Songs*, but, if when given a post in the government, he cannot turn his merits to account, or when sent on a mission to far parts he cannot answer particular questions, however extensive his knowledge may be, of what use is it to him?"

⁸ *Op cit* 10 12b1-2. Cf WALEY (229) "Shu sun Wu-shu having spoken disparagingly of Chung ni Tzū kung said, It is no use, Chung ni cannot be disparaged. There may be other good men, but they are merely like hillocks or mounds that can easily be climbed. Chung ni is the sun and moon that cannot be climbed over. If a man should try to cut himself off from them, what harm would it do to the sun and moon? It would only show that he did not know his own measure."

⁹ *Lun yü* 19 3b5.

¹⁰ *Tso chuan*, Hsiang 17 (COUVREUR 2 327) 是之不憂，而何以田爲。

Tso chuan, Hsiang 22 (COUV 2 375) 雨行，何以聖爲。

Tso chuan, Chao 28 (COUV 3 438) 三代之亡，共子之廢，皆是物也，女何以爲哉。

Lun yü 13.5 奚以爲。

Lun yü 16 1 4 何以伐爲。

Mencius 3 2 10 5 惡用是觥觥者爲哉。

Mencius 5 1 7 3 我何以湯之聘幣爲哉。

identical grouping of the characters *ho i . . . wei*, which some of us might consider to be related to the well-known formula *i . . . wei*. But we should note that the *wei* is final. Further investigation will suggest a simple solution.

There are a number of examples which do not fall into this category. An interesting one comes from the *Ku-liang chuan* (T'ing, 10th yr.): 兩君合好, 夷狄之民, 何爲來爲。A possible translation of this would be: "Since the two princes are friends, why have the barbarian folk come?" This would leave a superfluous *wei* to be interpreted as a final. A glance at the corresponding section of the *Tso chuan* shows, however, that we are dealing here not with *lai*—"to come" but with *lai* 萊, a proper name, so that the end of the quotation must be translated "Why are the Lai acting [up]?" The "final" *wei* in this phrase is thus explained away, but the example will serve to remind us of the common phrase *ho wei*—"why," with which the texts abound. I call attention to it here, because it is fundamental in the explanation in the explanation that I would offer for our problem.

Very early in the *Chuang tzü* (1.4a5)¹¹ the cicada and the dove wonder about the rukh's manner of flying: 奚以之九萬里而南爲 which means, rather literally, "What, taking-hold-of reaching-to 90,000 li does it go south, for?" That is, "Why does it first mount up 90,000 li in order to go south?" This "tmesis" of *hsi* and *wei*, equivalents of course to *ho* and *wei*, is parallel to the English "What . . . for" and can signify, also like the English, either "why" or "to what purpose"¹² Of course, this is true only of very familiar English; and I would contend that originally this construction is probably found only in familiar Chinese. But hav-

Ta Tai li chi 7 1b1-2 (Wu ti pien, Com. Press's *Han Wei ts'ung shu* ed) 夫黃帝尚矣, 女何以爲。先生難言之。

Hsün tzü (Wang Hsien-ch'ien ed) 10 11a3 然則又何以兵爲。

Han Fei tzü 23 61 9 (Com Press's *Kuo-hsüeh chi-pên ts'ung-shu* ed, W. K. Liao, *Han Fei tzü, Works from the Chinese*, 1 256) 奚以薛爲。

Lü shih ch'un-ch'u chi-shih 集釋 10 15b2 (by Hsu Wei-yu 許維通, *WILHELM* 127 1-2) 今我何以子之千金劍爲乎。

¹¹ *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed

¹² It is possible to see a similar tmesis in HUANG K'an's note to *Lun yü* 13 5, quoted above (text to note 7)

ing once appeared in texts that have long been studied in China, its use may be expected to reappear elsewhere. Another example comes from *Chan kuo ts'ê* (18.1b3): ¹³ 君又何以疵言告之韓魏之君爲 “Why did you report my words to the princes of Han and Wei?”

Han shu 97B.6b2 ¹⁴ provides a striking example indicating the force of *wei*: 今故告之，反怒爲。 If it were not for YEN Shih-ku's commentary I should be quite at a loss for a translation, but given the suggested equation *ho . . . wei* = *ho wei* his note is not too surprising: 故以許美人產子告汝，何爲反怒。 We may then translate the *Han shu* passage: “Since I have now reported [it] to you, why are [you] on the contrary angry?” YEN Shih-ku's note may be rendered: “Because the birth of concubine Hsu's child has been reported to you, why are [you] on the contrary angry?” ¹⁵

If the writer's suggested analysis is accepted as correct, we shall be able to offer a better translation of the following phrase in the *T'ao chuan* (Couv. 1.431, Hsi, 33rd): 何施之爲。 On the basis of TU Yu's note (17.7a4) 言秦以無禮加已施不足顧 LEGGE and COUVREUR (225 and 1.431) have translated: “What have we to do with former favors?” “Que nous font ses services passés?” IJIMA Tadao ¹⁶ translates in the same strain: “What favor has been shown us?” All these translations make sense, but their grammar is incomprehensible; ergo, the translations are wrong. I would suggest the following rendering which will satisfy both sense and grammar: “Why do it [to them]?” That is, why treat Ch'in in the way suggested by the former speaker? For a parallel use of *shih chih* we can revert to the Golden Rule as formulated in the

¹³ The ref is to the 刻川姚氏 ed

This quotation exemplifies a parallel to the common use of 把 in modern spoken Chinese

¹⁴ T'u shu chi-ch'eng yin-shu-chu ed

¹⁵ A famous writer whose life bridges the Yüan and Ming dynasties writes as follows 若是則君欲已喻之矣。又何卜爲。 “In this case you already know it. Why divine?” Cf. Liu Chi's [1311 1375] *Ch'êng i-po Lau Wên-ch'êng kung wên-chi* 劉基，誠意伯劉文成公文集 3 31a (SPTK ed)

¹⁶ 飯嶋忠夫，左何釋義 139, col 3 and 140, col 5 (Tokyo, 1934) 何の恩恵をもちらに向つて行つては居ない。

Chung yung (LEGGE¹ 258): 施諸己而不願亦勿施於人 where *shih chu* is, of course, the equivalent of 施之於.¹⁷

The *Ch'u tz'ü* 楚辭¹⁸ contain at least one interesting example of this construction exhibiting contamination with another expression for "why," 何故: 何故深思高譽, 自令施爲. This sentence appears in an altered form in the *Shih chi*¹⁹ 何故懷瑾握瑜而自令見放爲, but note that the *ho ku . . . wei* is preserved.

Near the beginning of *Chuang tzü* there is an instance of a *so . . . uei* 所 . . . 爲 which is in all essentials the equivalent²⁰ of the *ho . . . wei* under discussion here: 予無所用天下爲 "I have no reason to rule the world."

We are now ready to translate in comfort a troublesome phrase in the preface which MA Tuan lin prepared for his *Wén-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 馬端臨, 文獻通考: 無以參稽互察爲也 "There is no reason to study [them] together or compare [them] with one another."

Let us now return to the beginning of this article. The preceding argument will permit an even better translation than K'UNG Ying-ta's. I would translate CHENG Hsuan's note: "There being no benefit [to the dead], there is no reason to employ [a corpse-representative]." The passage from *Lun yü* 12 8.1, which was cited next in order, and all its parallels can be translated on the same model: "Why employ refinement?" Or, "To what end em-

¹⁷ Two other examples for *ho . . . wei* may be noted *Kuo yü* 17 5b8 (天聖明道 ed): 亡人得生, 又何不來爲; *Kuo yü* (*Chun yü*) 將何治爲 (I cannot find the ref, I quote from WANG Yin-chih)

¹⁸ 7 2a4-5 (SPTK ed.)

¹⁹ 84 2b4-5

²⁰ Cf. the two equivalent expressions in *Mo tzu* (first section of Chien ai chapter) 不可不察亂之所自起. 當察亂何自起.

This is probably the correct reference for the examples given on pp 27-8 of Lawrence ECKER, *The Place Concept in Chinese Language* 16 17 28. It would be easy to criticize some minutiae of this article but I do believe that the author has clarified greatly our ideas relative to 所. The comparative material if correct, is most enlightening. Let us hope that it does not fall into the same class as the two wrongly-cited passages from Chinese which were, in turn, erroneously ascribed to Mencius.

It is to be hoped that the editors of *Language* will demand the same precision in references from contributions in the Far Eastern field as they would from contributions in the Classical field. Who would quote Vergil or Plautus without a specific reference?

ploy refinement?" In other words, the interrogative and the *wei* go together to signify literally "what for," and the *i* is to be translated as the main verb. I am not prepared to say whether the *wei* is to be read on the second or on the fourth tone.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that this tmesis of *ho* and *wei* was no longer a living phenomenon in the sixth century of our era. It is not impossible that it may have existed previously in only certain of the dialects. At any rate, in the old texts we find it along with the commoner *ho-wei*. It is clear that the various interpretations offered by HUANG K'an, HSING Ping, and K'UNG Ying-ta must be adjudged as devices *ad hoc*. They do not provide an analysis that is applicable universally. It would be mere conjecture to speculate upon the feeling that MA Tuan-lin or LIU Chi may have had for the construction. What we need is more evidence. Vieles Reden tut es nicht.

In the book referred to above in note 1, YANG Po-hsun calls attention to the use of a final *wa* 哇 in spoken Chinese, and feels that this is a justification for interpreting *wei* as a final. I would prefer, along with Father WIEGER,²¹ to group this with all the other many finals employed in every-day Chinese. They vary according to the individual and are quite parallel to our various interjections.²²

²¹ LÉON WIEGER, *Chinois parlé, Manuel* (Hsien hsien, 1912), § 104 (p. 101).

²² At this point I consulted *Ma shih wen t'ung* 馬氏文通 (1905) 7:39 and found that he too has offered the same explanation. This fuller re-study, however, will hardly be considered superfluous.

BRIEF NOTES

A NOTE ON AN EARLY LOGOGRAPHIC THEORY OF CHINESE WRITING

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In 1937, Peter A. BOODBERG wrote: "Pictograms and symbolic signs do not constitute in themselves Graphs, i. e., elements of a written Language. In order to become such, they must be conventionally and habitually associated with certain semantic-phonetic values . . . (Chin. *ma*, not *hippos*, *equus*, *Pferd*, etc.)."¹ Further, "the term 'ideograph' which is so widely used by both layman and scholar is, we believe, responsible for most of the misunderstanding of the evolution of writing. The sooner it is abandoned, the better. We should suggest the revival of the old term 'logograph.' Signs in writing, however ambiguous, stylized, or symbolic, represent words."² BOODBERG would certainly have been pleased, if he had had access to a little known work of another Peter, Peter S. DU PONCEAU, to find in it a striking confirmation. Writing in 1838, DU PONCEAU said. "Chinese characters represent words of the Chinese language, and ideas only through them . . . those characters are necessarily applied to a particular language, and therefore, their object not being to represent ideas independently, but at second hand through the words of that particular idiom, they are not entitled to the name of *ideographic*, which has been inadvertently given to them."³

DU PONCEAU's book forms the second volume of *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*. It is in the form of a letter addressed to John VAUGHN (pp. 1-142), to which are appended a "Vocabulary of the Cochinchinese Language" (pp. 143-84 and 10 plates for

¹ Peter A. BOODBERG, *Some Proleptical Remarks on the Evolution of Archaic Chinese*, *HJAS*, 2 3-4 331

² *Op. cit.*, 332 foot note

³ Peter S. DU PONCEAU, *A Dissertation on the Nature and Character of the Chinese System of Writing*, Philadelphia, 1838, pp. xi and xxi

characters), and a "Cochinchinese and Latin Dictionary" (pp 185-376), both prepared by Father Joseph MORROW. So old a book on the Chinese language, written as it was by one who was admittedly not a Sinologist, and encumbered with linguistic data which have mostly been superseded by later dictionaries, would usually be expected to be found, i e, hidden, in the corners of main libraries, rather than occupying the limited space of the working libraries of seminar rooms or the desks of individual workers. And it is easy to find in it errors of fact or judgment which would favor such disposal of it. Quite unconscious of the central importance of the "phonetics" or "primitives" for the very theory that he is expounding, DU PONCEAU mistakenly takes the 214 "radicals" to be the elements for forming all characters. In another place (p 78), he confuses the transliteration of foreign names, *le le se too se* for *Christus*, with the system of *fan-ch'ieh* $h(e + l)e = ke$. Again (p 84), he falls into the common error of taking the Mandarin dialect to be the same thing as *wénh*. Finally, I consider it an unpardonable sin of omission to have left out all the information on tones in the vocabularies, although it was given in the original manuscript, a sure sign that DU PONCEAU cannot be considered a student of Far Eastern languages.

With such poor language equipment, it is all the more remarkable that DU PONCEAU had such a sound and penetrating view of Chinese writing, while others of his time and ours, though much better trained in the field, have failed to understand it. In presenting the thesis that Chinese writing represents words, DU PONCEAU makes a useful generalization which places Chinese writing in a more understandable perspective. "I do not believe," he says, "that what may be properly called the *elements* of language, consists only of the sounds separately represented by the signs which we call letters. The word *element* is relative, and is susceptible of various significations" (p 31). "Sentences are elements in relation to discourse, words to sentences, syllables to words, and simple sounds or letters* are either syllables or the elements of syllables. These are the elements of speech and writing,

*The phrase "or letters" is added as a concession to popular usage. In another place (p 80) he explicitly calls attention to the popular misuseage.

I believe, may be so contrived as to represent all or any of them" (p 33) From this general standpoint, he concludes (p 36) "that the Chinese system of writing is improperly called *ideographic*, it is a *syllabic* and *lexicographic* alphabet It is *syllabic*, because every character represents a syllable, it is *lexicographic*, because every syllable is a significant word" In this connection, it is interesting to note that BOONBERG⁵ uses the term *phoneme*, in discussing Chinese, precisely in the sense of a *syllabic phoneme*

DU PONCEAU takes Western Sinologists to task for following the Chinese tradition of regarding a character as *having* a pronunciation and a meaning This is, to be sure, the expressed view of most Chinese scholars of today as well as of yesterday The study of *tzu* 字 constitutes the Lesser Learning or *hsiao hsueh* *Tzu* is made of three elements, shape (to avoid the use of the term "form"), sound, and sense A more recent term *wen tzu hsueh* (the science of writing) puts the whole thing in even worse light One very peculiar circumstance, however, is that while professing this traditional view of the science and its subject matter, Chinese scholars since the earliest times have gone right on following the very line of thought that modern men since DU PONCEAU have advocated From LIU Hsi's *Shih ming* 劉熙釋名 of Han through TAI T'ung's *Liu shu ku* 戴侗六書故 down to the present, etymologists like CHANG Ping lin, SHEN Chien shih,⁶ and YANG Shu ta 章炳麟、沈兼士、楊樹達 have taken for granted that formulae like "jen che jen yeh, i che i yeh" 仁者人也義者宜也 form the key to all study of Chinese words Therefore, in spite of the tradition of a science of characters which *have* sounds, together with all the misleading implications therein, it is only the young Chinese students and the old Western Sinologists who have been misled The Chinese professors from the Han down to the present day have known better than they have professed Since DU PONCEAU was not misled this makes his book new and by no means superannuated, so long as there are still believers in the *ideographic* nature of Chinese writing

⁵ Op cit., p 331

⁶ A convenient study to refer to is that of SUN's *Yu wen shuo* etc 右文說在訓詁學上之沿革及其推闡 CFFI (Sup No 1) Tsai Yuan pei Anniversary Issue 1933 777-833

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DISTINCTIONS WITHIN ANCIENT CHINESE

YUEN REN CHAO 趙元任

ACADEMIA SINICA

KARLGREN's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese,¹ in its main features, has been accepted and quoted by most students of Chinese phonology. It is not the plan of the present study to revise in any radical way this system of reconstruction, but rather to consider certain of its features with regard to their distinctiveness as word-forming elements. For purposes of the present discussion, we arrange KARLGREN's reconstruction as follows:

TABLE 1 KARLGREN'S ANCIENT INITIALS

Labials	{ Pure	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>b'</i>		<i>m</i>	
	{ Yodized	<i>pj</i>	<i>p'j</i>	<i>b'j</i>		<i>mj</i>	
Dentals	{ Plosives	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>d'</i>			
	{ Liquids { Pure					<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>
	{ Yod.					<i>nj</i>	<i>lj</i>
	{ Sibilants	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts'</i>	<i>dz'</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	
Palatals	{ Plosives	<i>t̥</i>	<i>t̥'</i>	<i>d̥'</i>			
	{ Supradentals	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts'</i>	<i>dz'</i>	<i>s</i>		
	{ Sibilants ²	<i>t̥s</i>	<i>t̥s'</i>	<i>d̥z'</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>z̥</i>	<i>n̥z̥</i>
Gutturals ³	{ Pure	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ŋ</i> <i>ŋ̊</i>
	{ Yodized	<i>kj</i>	<i>k'j</i>	<i>g'j</i>	<i>xj</i>	<i>ŋj</i>	<i>j</i> <i>j̊</i>

Table 2 TYPES OF FINALS WITH WHICH THE VARIOUS INITIALS OCCUR

	I ⁴	II	III _a	III _β	IV
<i>p</i>	保 <i>pâu</i>	包 <i>pau</i>			閉 <i>pici</i>
<i>pj</i>			蔽 <i>pjiāi</i>	非 <i>pjiwēi</i>	
<i>t</i>	多 <i>tâ</i>	牀 <i>ta</i>	地 <i>d'i</i>		低 <i>dici</i>

¹ First worked out in his *Phonologie chinoise*, Stockholm, 1915-20, later revised in his article The Reconstruction of Ancient Chinese, *TP* 21 (1922) 1 1-42, with only slight modifications thereafter

² Including the naso-sibilant *nz*, or *n̥z̥* for simplicity

³ We are using this term in a wide sense to include velars and glottals

	I ⁴	II	IIIa	IIIβ	IV
<i>n</i>	那 <i>nâ</i>	緊 <i>na</i>			泥 <i>niei</i>
<i>nj</i>		拏 <i>nja</i>	娘 <i>njiang</i>		
<i>ts</i>	左 <i>tsâ</i>		𪛗 <i>tsiəu</i> ⁵		濟 <i>tsiei</i>
<i>t</i>		𪛗 <i>ta</i>	治 <i>d'i</i>		
<i>ts</i>		渣 <i>tsa</i>	鄒 <i>tsiəu</i>		
<i>tš</i>			周 <i>tšəu</i>		
<i>k</i>	哥 <i>kâ</i>	加 <i>ka</i>	𪛗 <i>iap</i>	殊 <i>iəp</i>	肩 <i>kien</i>
<i>kj</i>			𪛗 <i>kjiän</i>	建 <i>kjiän</i>	

TABLE 3 KARLGREN'S ANCIENT FINALS: *Wai* 外 GROUPS^a

Division	I	II	IIIa	IIIβ	IV _γ	I	II	IIIa	IIIβ	IV _γ
Group										
果, 假	<i>â</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>iâ</i>		<i>uâ</i>	<i>wa</i>		<i>iua</i>	
蟹	<i>âi</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>iai</i>	<i>iēi</i> ⁷	<i>iei</i>	<i>uâi</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>iwai</i>	<i>iwei</i>	<i>iewei</i>
	<i>âi</i>	<i>ai</i>				<i>uâi</i>	<i>wai</i>			
		<i>ai</i>					<i>wai</i>			
効	<i>âu</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>iau</i>		<i>ieu</i>					
咸	<i>âm</i> ⁸	<i>am</i>	<i>iam</i>	<i>iēm</i>	<i>iem</i>				<i>iwem</i>	
	<i>âm</i>	<i>am</i>								
山	<i>ân</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ian</i>	<i>iēn</i>	<i>ien</i>	<i>uân</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>iwan</i>	<i>iwen</i>	<i>iewen</i>
		<i>an</i>					<i>wan</i>			
宕, 江	<i>âng</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iang</i>			<i>wâng</i>		<i>iwang</i>		
梗			<i>iang</i>		<i>ieng</i>			<i>iwang</i>		<i>ieweng</i>
		<i>eng</i>	<i>ieng</i>				<i>weng</i>		<i>iweng</i>	
		<i>eng</i>					<i>weng</i>			

^a The figures I, II, III, IV are used by KARLGREN for the four divisions of the Sung rime tables. The letters *a*, *β*, *γ* refer to his three categories of finals as defined by the types of initials that occur in them (*Phonologie*, 625-26). Finals of types *a* and *β* really have words of three divisions II, III, and IV according to initial. For our purposes, we shall have less occasion to speak of the rime table divisions than types of finals and so we use the figures I, II, III, IV as types of finals. The types and the divisions correspond except that type III (KARLGREN's *a* and *β*) includes II, III, and IV of the Sung tables.

⁷ We are omitting the short sign under *o*, as this vowel is "intrinsically short" in Ancient Chinese.

⁸ The division of groups into *was chuan* and *nei chuan* 外轉內轉 follows approximately that of the rime tables. Roughly speaking, the *was* groups have more open

TABLE 4 KARLGREN'S ANCIENT FINALS: *Nei* 內 GROUPS

	I	III _a	III _β	I	III _a	III _β
遇				uo	iuo	
					iu	
止		i	ěi		wi	wěi
		i:				
		iě			wiě	
流	au	iau ^a				
深		iam				
臻	ən	iēn		uan	iuēn	
		ien	ian		iuēn	iuān
台	ang	iəng		wəng	iwək	
通				ung	iung	
				uong	iuong	

1. PURE AND YODIZED INITIALS

On the basis of *fan-ch'ieh*, KARLGREN distinguishes between a pure and a yodized variety in each of the 4 labial, 2 dental liquid, and 6 of the eight guttural initials. For example, words spelt by the initial *ch'ieh* (that is, the *first* word in the *fan-ch'ieh*) synonyms 古公侯過, etc. have the pure initial *k*, while words spelt by a separate set of *ch'ieh* synonyms 居舉九紀, etc. have the yodized initial *kj*. On the same basis, however, CH'EN Li in his *Ch'ieh yun k'ao*, ch. 2 recognizes only 40 initials instead of KARLGREN's 47. While KARLGREN follows the general trend of the connections among the *ch'ieh* words, but rules out occasional contacts as exceptional, CH'EN takes a more literal point of view and identifies groups even on the basis of one or two contacts. Thus he has one variety, instead of KARLGREN's two, in each of the seven initials *m*, *j*, *k*, *k'*,

main vowels while the *nei* groups have more close vowels. Cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, *Shih nei wai chuan* (On the Meaning of *nei* and *wai* Groups). *CIFY* 4 (1925) 2 223

^a In order to avoid unnecessary conflict with usage in the IPA, I am making a purely graphical change by using an inverted printed *a*, instead of KARLGREN's inverted written *a*.

^b Unless specified otherwise, we shall let *-m*, *-n*, *-ng* finals also stand for the corresponding *-p*, *-t*, *-k* finals.

^c On the final ㄣ which KARLGREN reconstructs as *un*, type *γ* see p. 35 below.

ng, *x*, and *·*, though he explicitly recognizes a tendency for the *ch'ieh* words of most of these initials to be segregated into two groups.

Now if we look into other *ch'ieh* words which are supposed to be quite "synonymous," we find that there is also a tendency for them to divide into groups. Let us consider the initial $\text{ㄔ} = s$, the distribution of whose *ch'ieh* words in relation to the main words, when compared with types of finals, is as follows:

Main word final type	I	IV	III
Ch'ieh word final type			
I	41	10	
IV	5	6	1
III	5		60

It will be seen that the distribution of *ch'ieh* words with respect to main words is not quite at random, but that there is a tendency for words of the same final type to keep within themselves. The tendency is especially strong for III to be segregated from I and IV, there being five main words under I using *ch'ieh* words under III and one main word under III using a *ch'ieh* word under IV, making a total of six cases of heterogeneous *ch'ieh* between type III and the other types, as compared with 60 cases of homogeneous *ch'ieh* within III itself.

Compare this now with the initial ㄌ .

Main word final type	I	II	IV	III
Ch'ieh word final type				
I	55	2	12	
II		1		
IV			1	
III	1	7	4	66

Here, as we should expect from KARLGRÉN's treatment, words under III are segregated from the other types, so that no main word under III has words of any other type for its *ch'ieh*, but there is a small number of 12 exceptional main words under I.

II, and IV which have words under III for their *ch'ieh*. Now, apart from differences in exact figures, I see no differences in principle between the two sets of distribution data in the preceding tables for *s* and *l*. If we can rule out, as KARLGREN seems to be doing, twelve cases of words with pure *l* spelt by words with yodized *ly* as being exceptional and still maintain the distinction between two kinds of *l*, why not rule out the six cases in the table of *s* above and postulate two kinds of *s*? The cases of *l* and *s* are by no means exceptional. The case of *l* is representative of the looseness of distinction where the *fan ch'ieh* is usually regarded as strict, while the case of *s* is representative of the tendency toward some distinction where the *fan ch'ieh* is usually supposed to be indifferent. The only intelligible interpretation of this state of affairs that I can give is this: There is no strict distinction of pure and yodized initials in *fan ch'ieh*. Instead of this, there is a tendency, in varying degree for various initials, for the upper *ch'ieh* word to agree with the lower *ch'ieh* word as to medial. There is a kind of medial harmony. I shall now cite an example of how such a procedure was actually carried out to an extreme.

In a work of only about 150 years after *Ch'ieh yün*,¹⁰ there are definite tendencies to use, according to the final, different upper *ch'ieh* words for what is obviously the same initial. Not only do words of different divisions have different *ch'ieh* words, there are also different words for *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou*, a distinction never maintained in *Ch'ieh yün* for the upper words. Thus we have

干,岡安 *lân lāng-ân* (162b¹¹) 冠,古歡 *kuân kuo-xuan* (164b)
 姦,門顏 *lan lan ngan* (160) 慣,卦患 *luan luai-yuan* (161)
 乾,期言 *lien kyet ngien* (148) 先,既遠 *hüen hwet yüen* (150)
 肩,古煙 *lien liet¹² ien* (153) 涓,決玄 *hüen hwet yüen* (156)

¹⁰ The work in question is *lun ying* 韻英 by 元廷堪 *Ting-chien* 元廷堪, a native of the Chang-an region published about 1750. The work is not extant, but its *fan ch'ieh* is used in *l chieh ching yin* : 一切經音義 (c. 800) by the monk Hsüi-n 慧琳 which forms the subject of a monograph by Hsiao Tsu-po 黃泮伯 *Hsü-lin* : *l chieh ching yin* : *fan ch'ieh* : *l ao* 慧琳一切經音義反切考 C111 Monograph No. 6 Shanghai, 1932.

¹¹ Figures refer to page numbers in Hsiao's study.

¹² There is reason to believe that γ_1 had k_1 and not k_2 in this work (p. 9).

which is a set of quite typical examples and by no means exceptional. It would obviously be absurd to postulate eight kinds of *k*'s for this language *k*, *k*, *kj*, *ki*, *ku*, *kw*, *kjw*, and *kno* on the ground that it has eight distinct sets of *ch'ieh* words. The words were no doubt chosen to make the act of *ch'ieh* easier. Evidently, in the time of *Ch'ieh yun*, the various degrees of segregation from the looser *l*'s or *s*'s to the stricter *k*'s represented only an incipient degree of medial harmony, which was carried to an extreme in another school of *fan ch'ieh* makers. In *Ch'ieh yun* two varieties of labials are kept well apart, the velar plosives fairly well apart, the dental sibilants not so well apart, while the liquids *m*, *ng* and *l* have only a general tendency to be segregated in two. There is little tendency in *Ch'ieh yun* to segregate *k'ai k'ou* from *ho k'ou*, though there is rather greater than random frequency of labial words spelt by labial lower words, a point we shall revert to later.

If now we give up the grouping of the upper *ch'ieh* words as the sole criterion for distinguishing initials, what else can we use as a criterion or criteria? The answer is *the pattern of occurrence*. While we can refer to *fan ch'ieh* groups and readings in modern dialects for a start, we should also look at the actual distribution of the initials with respect to finals in words. Let us see how this works out for the various types of initials as shown in Table 2.

The *p*'s (i.e., *p*, *p'*, *b'*, *m*) are rather regular. KARLGREN postulates pure *p*'s for finals I, II, IV and *pj*'s for III. The *fan ch'ieh* bear this out except in the case of *m*, to which CH'ËN LI assigns only one class. In any case, the distinction is not distinctive either for *m* or for *p*, *p'* and *b'*, as it is automatically determined by the type of final. One never finds a minimal contrasting pair such as **pi* and *pji* with exactly the same final but differing only in the initials *p* and *pj*.

The *t*'s and *t*'s are treated by KARLGREN as separate. Their occurrences are almost complementary, the *t*'s in finals of types I and IV and the *t*'s in finals of types II and III. Almost, but not quite. For in Table 2, we see two genuine minimal contrasting pairs

都, 都買 *ta tuo—ka* 地, 徒四 *d'i d'uo—si'* (Mand *ti'*)
 徒, 竹刀 *ta t'uk—ya* 訖, 直利 *d'i d'ipk—li'* (Mand *chuk'*)

A third pair is

打, 德冷 *təng : tək—ləng* 訂, 張梗 *təng : t̃əng—kəng*

As 打 and 地 are perfectly good living words, they cannot be explained away simply as irregular. To be sure, 地 does have in *Chi yun* the alternate *ch'ieh* 大計 (*d'iei*), homonymous with 第. But while this would account for *tī* in Mandarin and *dī* in the Wu dialects, it would not agree with Cantonese, where 第 is *tai*¹³ while 地 is *tei*¹⁴, which can only have come from group *chih* 止 (i. e., type-*i* finals). As for 打, although the Mandarin final is irregularly *a*, the Wu pronunciation is *tang*, as it should be (cf. *lang* for 冷). These contrasts, then, will have to be taken as genuine, and we have to keep the sets *t*, *t'*, *d'* and *t̃*, *t̃'*, *d̃'* apart. Besides the case of 釐 *ta* contrasting with 穆 *t̃a*, there are a few uncontrasted words with type II finals and dental initials, such as 貯丁呂, 痘杜懷, 竈丁滑, 鷓丁刮, 罩都教. The *Ch'ieh yun* fragments¹⁵ contain even more of such cases than *Kuang yun*.¹⁶ Of these, 貯 and 罩 are very common words and have modern pronunciations of the *chu* and *chao* types respectively, and point to an early change from *t* to *t̃* after *Ch'ieh yun*, as also confirmed by the later *fan ch'ieh* of *Chi yun*. These cases, however, have to do with the distribution of the initials in particular words and do not affect the general question of the distinctiveness of the *t̃*, *t̃'*, *d̃'* from the *t*, *t'*, *d'* series, which we have answered in the affirmative.¹⁵

In the initials *n* and *l*, there is an apparent contrast between 孃 *na* and 孃 *nja* in Table 2. The *fan ch'ieh* for these initials are

¹³ *Tang hieh pén Ch'ieh yün ts'an ch'uan* 唐寫本切韻殘卷

¹⁴ Cf. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, The Ancient Pronunciation of initials 知徹澄娘. *CYYY* 3 (1931) 1 152. In this article he gives *t*, *t'*, *d'*, *n* as the phonetic values of these initials before type II finals and *t̃*, *t̃'*, *d̃'*, *n* before type III finals, but combines the two series into four phonemes.

¹⁵ In a system of practical romanization based on Ancient Chinese, one could conveniently combine the two series and let the difference be conditioned by the finals. Cf. P. P. Henri LAMASSE et Ernest JASMIN *La romanisation inter-dialectique*, pub. by the Commission Synodale in Sinis 1931 in which the four divisions of the Sung nine tables are represented by the medials *n̄*, *e*, *y* and *i*, so that *d̄j*, *d̄'e*, *d̄'i*, *d̄'i* nine tables are represented by the medials *n̄*, *e*, *y* and *i*, so that *d̄j*, *d̄'e*, *d̄'i*, *d̄'i* nine tables are represented by the medials *n̄*, *e*, *y* and *i*. It works in most cases, but one would have to resort to special devices for the other contrasting pairs.

somewhat similar to those in the case of *t* and *t̃*, except that words in finals of type III are very frequent instead of being limited to one single form *d'i*. But there are two important differences. One is that there is no case of *minimal* contrast, 拏 and 孃 being in different tones. The other is that there is no trace of distinction between two varieties of *n* or *l* in any dialect.¹⁶ Hence we recognize only one *n* and one *l* in Ancient Chinese. This view will stand irrespectively of whether words spelt by *ch'ieh* words classed as *niang* 孃 had actually *n* or *nj* or *ń*. The fact that before finals of type I and IV one finds *ch'ieh* words of one type, before finals of type III one finds *ch'ieh* words of another type, and before finals of type II, which is intermediate between the two preceding categories, one finds both kinds of *ch'ieh* words can be explained by the general tendency toward medial harmony. In accordance with the tendency in most dialects, I write *n* for all cases of either 泥 or 孃 in finals of type II, thus *na* for 拏, not *nja*.

In the *ts* row, or dental sibilants, we already saw how *ch'ieh* words for *s* tend to harmonize with the finals of the main words. KARLGREN does not recognize any further subdivision in this series, and we follow him.

The rows *ts* and *t̃s* are in complementary distribution with row *ts* in the *wai* groups of finals. Hence they are placed under the *ts*'s in the Sung rime tables under the general heading of *ch'ih yin* or "dentals," in such a way that dentals always occur in finals of types I and IV, supradentals always in type II, and palatal sibilants always in type III.¹⁷ But in the *nei* groups we find a great many minimal contrasts like 𪛗 *tsiəu*, 𪛘 *t̃siəu*, 周 *t̃siəu* as shown in Table 2, which all have the same final according to *fan ch'ieh*. Hence they must be recognized as showing a distinctive series of initials, unless we follow LAMASSE and JASMIN in creating artificially three kinds of finals *co*, *yo*, and *io* for *iəu* and write 走 *co*, 𪛘 *cco*, 周 *cyo*, 𪛗 *cyo*.

¹⁶ The divergence between *na* > *na* and *ni* > *ni* in many dialects is conditioned solely by modern vowels.

¹⁷ There are some exceptions, such as 撰士免切 *dz'uan*, for which it would be impossible to find a place in the rime tables. Most of such "impossible" words however also have alternate "possible" readings, e.g. 撰離蛇切 *dz'uan*.

The *h* initials are by far the most important and most interesting group of initials with regard to the yod question. Referring to Tables 1 and 2, we see that except for one initial, the distribution in relation to the finals is quite like that of the labials.

Final types				Initials				
I	II	IV γ		<i>h</i>	<i>h'</i>	<i>x</i>	γ	<i>ng</i>
III α	III β			<i>h_j</i>	<i>h'_j</i>	<i>g'j</i>	<i>x_j</i>	<i>ng_j</i>

We are even tempted to identify γ and *g'j* as one phoneme, taking γ to be the pure counterpart of the always yodized *g*. This quite agrees with the origin of γ , which was an archaic aspirated voiced plosive. But the stumbling block is the initial or initials *yu* 喻. Not only are there two series of *ch'ieh* words 以羊余餘與弋, etc (which I shall call *yang* 羊) and 于王雨爲羽云, etc (which I shall call *yun* 云), as is also true of *h*, *h'*, *x*, *ng*, and (doubtfully) of γ , but they also occur in finals of type III, in fact in the same finals, so as to form minimal contrasting pairs, as 由以周切 *ɬəu* vs 尤羽求切 *ɬəu*. This not only seems to upset my plan of relegating the yod to a matter of medial harmony of no distinctive significance, but is anomalous in KARLGREN's own system, where no other pure initial occurs with type III finals. The solution lies in another direction.

In a short note in *T'oung Pao*,¹⁸ Ko I-ch'ing 葛毅卿 advances a theory that the *yun* (which he calls *yu* 于) variety of *yu* 喻 is a fricative, γ . He cites a number of evidences of rather unequal value, but the most interesting are that 雄 (and 能) 羽隆反 in the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments is treated by later phonologists as *hsia* 匣 and reconstructed by KARLGREN as *ɬung* (Mandarin *hsung*), that *Ch'ieh yun chih chang t'u* notes explicitly the complementary distribution of *hsia* 匣 with *yu* 喻 and most important of all, that the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments have

$$\begin{aligned} \text{雲戶分 } \eta u \eta n &= \gamma(uo + p) & \eta u \eta n &= \gamma \eta u \eta n, \\ \text{越戶伐 } \eta u \eta t &= \gamma(uo + p) & \eta u \eta t &= \gamma \eta u \eta t \end{aligned}$$

¹⁸ Hu Ye-chung, On the consonantal value of 喻-class words, *TP* 22 (1932) 100-103.

So far as the theory of the phonetic value of the initial *yün* is concerned, Ko's view does not really diverge much from KARLGREN's, according to whom, "*j* is the sonant prepalatal fricative of Germ. *ja*."¹⁹ In fact, there must be a strongly consonantal articulation if 尤 *jïu* is to be distinguished from 休 *iəu*. What is new and very important is this. By taking *j* in 尤 *jïu* as the yodized member of the phoneme γ , we are free to regard the initial *yang* 羊 simply as a yodized initial on its own right, which can, accordingly, occur without apology before type III finals. In fact, far from being anomalously "pure," the initial *yang* is the "yod" *par excellence*. As we saw before, all this yod business as reflected by *fan ch'ieh* was just a matter of medial harmony. Wherever there is *i*, there is yod. But in KARLGREN's system, there is the exception of *yang* 羊. Now that we can have *yün* as γ_i and *yang* as i moved down below:

I	II	IV γ	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>		χ	γ	匣	<i>ng</i>	.
III α	III β		<i>k_i</i>	<i>k'_i</i>	<i>g'i</i>	<i>x_i</i>	γ_i	云	<i>ng_i</i>	<i>i</i> 羊 <i>i</i>

the exception is no longer exceptional but perfectly regular.

One further point needs to be cleared up before this treatment of the yod question can be considered complete. KARLGREN distinguishes, besides the significantly fricative *j*, the following kinds of *i*-like sounds. There is (1) the non-fricative consonantal *i* as in *iəu*, there is (2) the non-syllabic vocalic *i* as in *ien*, and there is (3) the syllabic vocalic *i*, as in *iě*, not to mention *i* as an ending in *ai*, etc., which does not concern our problem. Between (1) and (2), the question of yod can be decided by the presence or absence of *i*. But in (3), which consists of the group *chih* ㄔ, namely *i*, *i:*, *iě*, and *ěi*, the *fan ch'ieh* are always words that go with *i*, although these *i*'s are all "vocalic." Hence KARLGREN finds it necessary to insert his *j* here although he can let it be implied by the *i* in the other finals. Thus, *kian*, short for *kjïan*, but always *kji*, *kjěi*, etc.

From our point of view of medial harmony, this can now be made much simpler. The group *chih* finals can be treated just

¹⁹ *Analytic dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris 1923, p. 6, note (5) KARLGREN could have much more aptly cited the German dialectal *we 'jen* for *wegen*, as against *wa 'yen* for *wagen*!

like any of the other-type III finals.²⁰ We know as an empirical fact that all these type III finals occur with certain initials in a certain pattern, as reflected in the *fan ch'ieh*. To say that the *ch'ieh* words 居舉九紀 tend to occur not only before consonantal *i*, but also before vocalic *i*, unless this vocalic *i* is followed by *e*, is perfectly legal, but the rule would seem rather arbitrary and does not make clear phonetic sense. There must be some *phonetic* property common to group *chih* finals and the *i*-finals. I suggest that the phonetic quality in question lies in the height (or tension if you like) of the vowel. The beginning of all type III finals has a high or close *i*, the beginning of all type IV finals has a low or open *i*. Before a close *i*, the consonant tends to be palatalized and hence tends to have (though not necessarily) *ch'ieh* words which themselves have a close *i*. Before an open *i*, there is no such tendency. In the *i*-type of finals, the *i* is a close *i*. In the *ien*-type of finals, the *i* is an open *i*. In the group *chih* ㄔ, the *i* is also a close *i*, only that the close *i* medial happens to have coalesced with the main vowel. If we let *i* be the symbol for close *i*, then the whole final ㄓ *i* written as *i* might look strange, while if we use instead some such symbol as *î* in all cases, as *kî* and *kîan*, it would not look so strange. But once we let it be understood that *ki* has a close *i*, there is no chance of misunderstanding.

Two more types of cases remain to be explained. In the case of *ho k'ou* words in group *chih*, as ㄏ, KARLGREN's *kjwi*, we must assume the close *i* before the *w*, thus *kîwi*. Similarly, in the final ㄟ *ei*, the medial *i* has no chance to coalesce with the main vowel, and we assume *i* in all cases, thus ㄟ *kîi*, ㄟ *kîwî*. Since this rime is of type β and has only labial and guttural initials, it always has a *j* in KARLGREN's system. Our treatment consists simply in substituting *i* for *j*. It is interesting to note that KARLGREN changes without explanation his earlier ㄟ *ei* into a later *·jêi* which we write as *·îêi*.²¹

²⁰ Note that there is no danger of circular argument here in calling these finals "type III," as we are using these figures in the sense of α and β as defined by the pattern of initials occurring in them in Table 2 and not by any assumption as to the phonetic nature of the medial or the vowel.

²¹ *i* in *Analytic Dictionary* p. 80, but *jêi* in "Word Families in Chinese," *BSIFF* 4: 1934-28. Incidentally, this answers the question as to whether the initial *yang* 陽

We accept KARLGREN's phonetic description of the initial *yun* 云, but instead of pairing it off with *yang* 羊 *i*, with which it forms minimal contrasts, we pair it off with *hsia* 匣 *ɣ*, with which it is in complementary distribution, determined entirely by the medial. In all other cases of KARLGREN's pure and yodized initials, we substitute the idea of medial harmony for the idea of yod. The principle is, a word whose final begins with a close *i* tends to be spelt by an initial *ch'ieh* word whose final also begins with a close *i*, and a word whose final begins with an open *i* or any other vowel tends to be spelt by a word whose final begins with an open *i* or some other vowel.

A still further simplification is possible. When we mentioned close and open *i*, nothing was said as to the conditions of their occurrence. As a matter of fact, *i* is always open before unmodified *e*, and always close when alone or before *ě* and other vowels. Hence there is really only one *i* phoneme (including *-i* as an ending in *ai*, which need not be determined as being either close or open, but which was probably open).

We are now free to use *j* as a luxury notation to denote that phonetic value of *ɣ* which occurs before close *i*, and continue to write *jian*, etc. instead of *ɣian*, etc. Although there is no possible misunderstanding if we write *kian*, *kiěi* (where *a* or *ě* implies a close *i*), we can also continue to use *i* as a reminder notation in *kian*, *kiěi*, etc. In the case of the final *ian*, however, we understand this literally as *k* + close *i* + *an* and not as an abbreviation of *kj* + *i* + *an*. KARLGREN has two kinds of *j*'s. One is a member of the *ɣ* phoneme. The other is simply *i* which coalesces with *i*

has one or two varieties. In our present scheme, *ying* is quite on a par with the other gutturals, depending entirely on the nature of the medial. In 淵 *uən*, there is an open *i* after the glottal stop, in 隱 *uän*, there is a close *i*. The fact that the *ch'ieh* words for 於 are for the most part distinct and yet meet in the most frequently used word 於 need not be explained by the two readings of 於 *uo* and *uo*, but can be compared with the looseness of the distinctions in *m*, *ng*, and *l*, for there is too little acoustic difference between the quality of *i* before close *i* and its quality before other vowels to result in stricter separation of *ch'ieh* words than has been made. As to the unexplained doublets of words with initial *li* like 餽於僞: 逮於避, 要於臂: 奴於禡, etc., which are distinguished as divisions III and IV in the rime tables, the phonetic explanation will have to be sought elsewhere along with the question of doublets of other initials like 驗計爲: 陰許規 discussed below (p. 220).

in the *k'ai k'ou* of ɿ, ɿ and iě There is no ɿ on its own right, not even as a member of the ɿ-phoneme

2 K'AI K'OU AND HO K'OU

As *Kuang yun* has no tendency towards harmony for the medial *u*'s there is no question of differentiation of initials here corresponding to that in the case of yod We shall now ask how many kinds of *u*'s in Ancient Chinese are distinctive As an ending in the group *hsiao* 効 finals *âu*, *au*, etc., there is no more of a problem than with -ɿ in the group *hsieh* 蟹 finals *âi*, *ai*, etc. It is the *u* as medial or principal vowel that presents corresponding problems On the basis of riming and development in modern dialects, KARLGREN distinguishes between vocalic *u* and consonantal *w* For example, 剛 and 光 are both in the rime 唐 and therefore written *káng* (> Cantonese *ko'ng*) and *kwáng* (> *kwo'ng*), but 干 and 官 are in different rimes 寒 and 桓, therefore they are *kân* (> *ko'n*) and *kuân* (> *ku'n*) respectively There are, however, difficulties for both rime and the dialect reasons In the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments, the distinctions in rime do not always exist There is no rime 戈 (*uâ*) Words of the *Kuang yun* rime 戈 are absorbed into 歌 (*â*) in the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments Similarly, 桓 (*uan*) is absorbed into 寒 (*ân*), 諄 (*uě'n*) into 眞 (*iě'n*) Rime, therefore, can no longer be considered a reason for treating *kwáng* *káng* differently from *kuân* *kân* As to later developments in the dialects, the difficulty is that they prove too much For just as 干 *kân* and 官 *kuân* have become *ko'n* and *ku'n*, so have 仙 *si'an* and 宣 *si'uan* become *si'n* and *sy'n* in Cantonese In fact, the differentiation of 戈 from 歌 may be regarded as a subsequent vowel change quite on a par with, though much earlier than, that of 宣 (> *sy'n*) from 仙 (*si'n*) Neither can, without other evidence, prove anything about the distinctions in the Ancient Chinese of *Ch'ieh yun*

Here, as in the case of the ɿ medials, we have to look into the pattern of occurrence of the *ho k'ou* element with respect to other

²² KARLGREN was later well aware of this and considered the rime divisions as a matter of taste Cf his "Reconstruction of Ancient Chinese" TP 21 1 20

elements. On this point MASPERO says: "Je transcris le *ho k'eou* par *u*, sans distinguer par un signe spécial les cas où cet *u* est voyelle ou consonne."²³ More explicitly, KARLGREN says: "There is regularly only one kind of *ho k'ou* with every final in the *Ts'ie yun*," adding in a note, "with one exception, according to my reconstruction scheme of the *Ts'ie yun* language; but this reconstruction of 尹 *jiuēn*: 隕 *jiwēn* (in order to explain two different rimes) in my *Phonologie* is certainly one of the weakest points of my reconstruction system. It is improbable and needs to be reconsidered."²⁴ In his later article,²⁵ he did reconsider it and wrote *jiwen* for 隕. This being done, the difference between *u* and *w* in *jiuēn* and *jiwen* is no longer distinctive. There is only one phoneme *u*, which is a vocalic medial, a consonantal medial, a principal vowel or an ending, depending upon its phonetic environment, quite as in the case of the different values of *i*:

<i>ien</i>	<i>ian</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ěi</i>	<i>ái</i>
<i>uân</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>ung</i>	<i>əu</i>	<i>âu</i>

This being understood, we shall continue to use KARLGREN's *u*'s and *w*'s as a luxury notation, with the following modifications. Write *u* for all division I finals. KARLGREN already does so except in *wâng*²⁶ and *wəng*. In all other cases, write *w* except in *iu* and *iung*. KARLGREN already does so except in *iuēn*, *iuən* and *iuá*. His use of *u* in *iuēn* 眞 is due to its being in a different rime from *iēn* 眞. But since *jiwen* 隕 is in the same rime as *iēn* 眞 and *iuēn* 眞, writing the latter as *iwēn* is even better from the point of view of the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments. On the other hand, now that 文 is written *iwən* in our scheme, it has a better excuse to be in a separate rime with *uən* 魂. These points, however, are not important. The chief thing is, there is one kind of *ho k'ou*, written *u* in division I and in *iu*, and *iung* (where *u* is the only vowel), and written *w* in all other cases, where it is probably very short.

²³ H. MASPERO, Le dialecte de Tch'ang an sous les T'ang, *BEFFO* 20 (1920). 2 5 Cf also his discussions on p. 74

²⁴ Shi king researches, *BMFEA* 4 (1932) 120

²⁵ Word Families in Chinese, *BMFEA* 5 (1934) 11-13

²⁶ Which he wrote, apparently inadvertently, in a form equivalent to *wáng* in his dialect dictionary, *Phonologie*, 813-4

We could, if we so desired, always write *u* as MASPERO does, except that the present scheme looks more suggestive of the probable phonetic values. It is, again, a reminder notation.

3. THE K'AI K'OU AND HO K'OU OF LABIALS

The *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* of words with labial initials is notoriously inconsistent either in relation to the words which form their final *ch'ieh* words or in relation to the main words when they are the final *ch'ieh* words. Take the following set of words in the rime 禡:

1. 禡古覓 *kan: kuo—yan*
2. 覓侯禡 *yan: ɣəu—kan*
3. 禡古幻 *kwan: kuo—ɣwan*
4. 幻胡辨 *ɣwan: ɣuo—b'ʔan*
5. 辨蒲覓 *b'ʔan: b'ou—yan*

We have two clear-cut pairs of *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* for the initials *k* and *ɣ*. Therefore in example 4, the lower word 辨 must be *b'wan*. But if we look at its *ch'ieh*, we find that it has 覓 *yan* for its lower word, which would make it read *b'an* instead of *b'wan*. Such examples abound in the whole body of *fan ch'ieh*.²¹ An interesting sidelight comes again from the *fan ch'ieh* of *Yün ying* as studied by HUANG Ts'ui-po. In this system of *fan ch'ieh*, HUANG finds that the author of *Yün ying* gave up the attempt to associate labial words with either the *k'ai k'ou* or the *ho k'ou* classification of words with other initials, and cut the Gordian knot by spelling labial words mostly with labial final words, thus creating a third category which was neither *k'ai k'ou* nor *ho k'ou*, but simply labial. In the first group of labial main words studied by HUANG,²² there are 180 pairs of *fan ch'ieh*, of which 159 have labial final *ch'ieh* words and only 21 have non-labial words. If frequency of occurrence is counted, the percentage of labials would be still higher. Is there anything similar to this in *Ch'ieh yün* and *Kuang yün*? Decidedly there is. Of the 511 *fan ch'ieh* for words of labial initials tabulated by CH'EN Li in his *Ch'ieh*

²¹ For further examples of such inconsistencies, cf. KARLGREN, *Phonologie*, p. 61

²² *Op. cit.*, 82-84

yun k'ao wai p'ien, fully 205 of the final *ch'ieh* words have labial initials. Since there is no preponderance of labial words among final *ch'ieh* words in general, this is a decidedly greater proportion than one would expect from a random choice of final words. The *ch'ieh* words in the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments also bear this out, though they are not the same as in *Kuang yun* and are not complete. The obvious interpretation of this is that the *Ch'ieh yun* system already had a tendency, later carried out to an extreme, to spell labial words with labial final words. Since labial words tend to be thus non-committal as to *k'ai k'ou* or *ho k'ou*, they serve sometimes as final words for *k'ai k'ou* words, as 殺所八 *sat swo-p(ɔ)at*, and sometimes for *ho k'ou* words, as 滑戶八 *ywat yuo puat*. As to 八 itself, it is spelt by the labial word 拔 *b'(ɔ)at* which in turn is spelt by 八 and therefore both 八 and 拔 are non-committal as to *k'ai k'ou* or *ho k'ou*.

KARLGREN gives a phonetic explanation for this state of affairs. He supposes that Ancient Chinese labials were all pronounced with the lips slightly protruding. Hence in pronouncing *pa*, there will result a slight *ho k'ou* effect *p^{wa}a*, which explains why a *k'ai k'ou* word 八 *p^{wa}at*, because it sounds like the real *ho k'ou* word *pwat*, can spell a *ho k'ou* word *ywat*.²⁰ Now the important question is, from our point of view of distinctive distinctions, are there ever such contrasts between real *ho k'ou* labials like *pwat*, and shall we say, pseudo *ho k'ou* labials, like *p^{wa}at*? Going through the whole body of *fan ch'ieh* for labials, one finds surprisingly few cases that look like minimal contrasting pairs of *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* labial words. The following example²¹ of distribution of finals for labial initials is quite a typical one.

	<i>p'ing</i>		<i>shang</i>		<i>ch'ü</i>		<i>yu</i>	
	<i>k'ai</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>k'ai</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>k'ai</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>k'ai</i>	<i>ho</i>
<i>p</i>		付-uāng	付-āng		付-uāng		付-al	
<i>p'</i>	付-ang		付-āng				付-āk	
<i>b</i>		付-uāng			付-āng		付-āk	
<i>m</i>	付-āng		付-āng		付-āng		付-āk	

²⁰ *Monologue* pp. 65-66.

²¹ Noticed by Li Fang-kuei 李方桂 in his article "Archaic Chinese **q^hewək* and **q^hewək*" C111 8 (1935) 1-71.

This is a good set, because the examples are spelt by an unusual proportion of non labial final *ch'ieh* words. Except for 幫博旁 where the *ho k'ou* has to be inferred indirectly, all the other final words used, such as 朗 *lâng* and 光 *kuáng*, are unequivocally *k'ai k'ou* or *ho k'ou*, and through all these we do not see a single case of minimal contrast. Still better, in the *p'ing shêng* chapter 傍 is spelt 步光 *b'uáng*, in the *ch'u shêng* chapter it is spelt 蒲浪 *b'áng*, and when a cross reference is there made back to *p'ing shêng*, it says 又蒲郎切, that is, *b'áng* and not *b'uáng*! Thus we see how little this business of *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* means for labials in the rime 唐.

Taking up now the various other finals, we shall consider (1) those in which there is no difference between *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* for any initial, (2) those in which there is an apparent distinction between *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* for labials, and (3) those in which such a distinction exists for non labials but not for labials. Finals like: 之, *âm* 談 etc., in which labials do not occur, need not of course be considered.

(1) The finals *âu*, *au*, *iau*, *ieu* in group *hsiao*, and *au* and *ieu* in group *hu*, and *iem* in group *shên* are all *k'ai k'ou*. The finals *uo* *iu* in group *yu* and *ung*, *ung* *uóng*, *wóng* in group *t'ung* are all *ho k'ou*. The labials before these finals are simply *pâu*, *puo*, etc. and need no discussion.

(2) There are apparently four pairs of *k'ai k'ou* versus *ho k'ou* finals in which the same labial can occur in the same tone.

Rime	哈(海)	倍薄亥	<i>b'âi</i>	<i>b'ak-γai</i>
"	灰(賄)	珽蒲罪	<i>b'uâi</i>	<i>b'uo-dz'uâi</i>
"	旨	匕卑履	<i>pi</i>	<i>pie-li</i>
"	旨	鄙方美	<i>piu</i>	<i>piuāng m'ui</i>
"	支	彌武移	<i>mie</i>	<i>miu æ</i>
"	支	糜靡爲	<i>miue</i>	<i>miuē m'ue</i>
"	仙(線)	免亡辨	<i>mian</i>	<i>miuāng b'ian</i>
"	仙(線)	緜彌亮	<i>miuan</i>	<i>mie quan</i>

For the pair 倍 *b'âi* 珽 *b'uâi*, we find exactly the same *fan ch'ieh* in the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments. Because this is a lone case and because no known dialect treats the final of 倍 *b'âi* in any way differ

ent from 背 *puâi*, 配 *p'uâi*, 妹 *muâi*, KARLGREN considers 倍 also as *b'uâi* ²¹ Moreover, since 倍 is often used interchangeably with 背 in the sense "to desert," read *b'uâi*, ²² it would hardly be relevant to consider that the difference between 倍 "double" and 倍 "to desert" should consist in being *ho k'ou* and *k'ai k'ou* Li Fang kuei, on the other hand, takes 倍 as a real *k'ai k'ou* word ²³ Since, however, Li notes that in the rime 泰 *âi*, another T'ing MS of *Ch'ieh yun* gives 旆 *b'uâi* instead of the *b'âi* of *Kuang yun* and 𣎵 *mâi* instead of the *muâi* of *Kuang yun*, the distinction is certainly in a rather wavering state and the secondary *ho k'ou* of 倍 must in the time of *Ch'ieh yun* be already well on the way to being indistinguishable from all the other *ho k'ou* (or "labial *k'ou*")

The cases of 匕卑履 vs 鄙方美 and 彌武移 vs 糜靡爲 and a number of similar cases are interpreted by KARLGREN as *k'ai k'ou* *pi*, *mič* vs *ho k'ou* *puw*, *miwč* There is on the whole a loose correlation of these contrasts with the *i ei* contrasts in many modern dialects, so that KARLGREN regards a modern *i* type reading as derived from Ancient *k'ai k'ou* and an *ei* type reading as from Ancient *ho k'ou* But the correlation is so very loose that it takes a lot of space in his dictionary to enumerate the exceptions ²⁴ For example, 𣎵二 is *k'ai k'ou* because 二 *nei* is *k'ai k'ou*, and yet most dialects treat it in the same way as *ho k'ou* words, as 𣎵 *mei*, 𣎵 *wei* The distinction in question lies probably in something else In the rime 支 KARLGREN recognizes only two finals, one *k'ai k'ou* and one *ho k'ou* But if we examine the *fan ch'ieh* in the rime, there are three forms for initial *k*, three for *l*, three for *g*, four for *x*, three for *·*, and three for *ts* For example,

根許規 *xič*
訖香支 *xič*

𣎵許爲 *xiwč*
𣎵許規 *xiwč*

KARLGREN does not differentiate the first row from the second CH'IN I recognizes these distinctions in his *Ch'ieh yün k'ao* as

²¹ Phonology 42 footnote

²² For example 𣎵死而逢倍之 *Menxue* III 2 4

²³ Op cit (7n 31) 78

²⁴ Phonology 1- "ts on 𣎵 -r on 𣎵 etc -ts on 𣎵 etc, -ss on 𣎵 etc, etc

well as in *Ch'ieh yun k'ao wai p'ien* and follows the practice of the Sung rime tables in calling them division III and division IV. As these have nothing to do with yod (許許許香 being all synonymously ɣ even from KARLGREN's point of view), the meaning of III and IV must lie somewhere else, and we shall leave it to future investigation.

The important thing for us to note is that the labials here never have three or four in a set but at most only two. *Yun chung* puts all these labials under *k'ai k'ou* and differentiates them as divisions III and IV. CH'EN LI, following the suggestion of the *ch'ieh* words, classes them as *k'ai* or *ho* but classes all of the pairs as III and IV, though sometimes the two members in a pair as both *k'ai* or both *ho*, as for example 皮符羈 as *k'ai* III and 陴符支 as *k'ai* IV. In the rime 脂 the *fan ch'ieh* is a little more symmetrical, with one set using 8 *k'ai k'ou* words and one labial as second member, and a second set using 12 labial final words. But the relation with modern dialects is very irregular. Similarly, in the rime 仙 the contrasts like 免 and 緝 are given in *Yun chung* both as *k'ai k'ou*, the former in Table 23 in division IV and the latter in Table 21 in division IV. The upshot of it all is that where we thought we saw minimal contrasting pairs of *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* labials in the same rime, they prove to be something else, whatever it is, than the distinction between *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou*. Since the correspondence of *i* type and *ei* type finals with modern dialect pronunciation is at best very loose, it is doubtful whether the game of distinguishing *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* in labials of group *chuh* is worth the candle from the point of view of dialect study. The only safe thing to do is to consider all as *k'ai k'ou* or as "labial" and leave the nature of the initial doublets in the rimes to future investigation. Just as KARLGREN writes both 核許羈 and 訖香支 as ɣ(j) iě, so we write both 竹卑義 and 責彼義 as p(j) iě.

(3) In the majority of finals, there is distinction of *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* for non labial initials, but not even a suspicion of distinction for labials. In rimes 歌 ā and 戈 ua, we find all the labials occurring in 戈. Should we consider words like 波博禾 always as *ho k'ou* puā, just as in the case of 布 puo? No, because

the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments not only have one rime 歌 to include both, but actually spell 波博河 *pa pāk yá* as against 博禾 *pāk yuá* of *Kuang yun*, and 叵普可 *p'á p'uo k'á* as against 普火 *p'uo xuá* of *Kuang yun*. Similarly, in the rimes 寒 *án* and 桓 *uán*—all the labials occur under the latter—the fragments combine the two rimes and spell labials, not necessarily with *k'ai k'ou* words, which according to our view they are not expected to do, but indifferently with either *k'ai k'ou* or *ho k'ou* words, as 盤薄官 *b'ân b'ák kuan* same as in *Kuang yun*, but 瞞武安 *mân muw án*, as against 母官 *mou kuán* of *Kuang yun*. As to the pair of finals 痕 *ən* and 魂 *uən*, they are also recognized as separate rimes in the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments, and labials are spelt with *labial* or *ho k'ou* words. We shall, therefore, regard the latter as *ho k'ou puən*, etc. For the same reason, between the pairs of finals 欣 *ien* and 文 *wən*, which are also different rimes in the fragments, the labials, being in the latter rime, are *ho k'ou*. The rimes 眞 *iěn* and 諄 *wen*, as we noted, are combined as 眞 in the fragments. There are two contrasting kinds of labials, not differentiated as to *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou*, but by final *ch'ieh* words which CH'ÊN LI regards as divisions III and IV. Of the pair 混武盡 and 暨 (閔) 眉殞 (隕), KARL GREN already interprets the latter as *muwən*,³³ as against 混 *miěn*. But the contrast cannot be a matter of *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou*, as we have parallel to this pair six other pairs like 民彌鄰 vs 弭武巾 in which the final word is either *k'ai k'ou* or labial. Since KARL GREN derives 巾 *kiěn* from Archaic *kien*, the rather frequent use of 巾 for one of the doublets may suggest that all these pairs of labials are a matter of

賓 <i>pien</i>	頻 <i>b'iěn</i>	混 <i>miěn</i>
拊 <i>pien</i>	貧 <i>b'ien</i>	暨 (= 閔) <i>miən</i>

Here on the basis of a couple of known cases like 閔 *miən*, we are making a guess at the meaning of the doublets like the unexplained doublets 𠂔 賁, etc. Whether this guess is good or not, the point is that between the rimes 眞 and 諄, all labials can be most simply treated as *k'ai k'ou*.

³³ *Word Families* 15

The rest of these finals under this heading are all like the *pāng* *puāng* cases. For simplicity, we shall treat all cases as *k'ai k'ou* or "labial" except those which later became dentilabials, which we shall treat as *ho k'ou*³⁶. Thus, 崩 *pāng*, 丙 *piēng* (although spelt with 永 *juēng*), 逼 *piək* (although 逼 serves as final word for 域 *juək*) but 廢 *piwēi*, 方 *piwāng* (although spelt with 良 *hang*)

4 DENTILABIALIZATION

KARLGREN lays down as the condition for dentilabialization that the word must be in division III and must be *ho k'ou*. There are a number of exceptions which he explains away in detail.³⁷ Of the ten finals before which bilabials become dentilabials, one is *k'ai k'ou* 尤 *iu*, which according to KARLGREN, is as good as *ho k'ou*, as the *u* is the principal vowel. Four are *ho k'ou* for all initials 虞 *iu*, 文 *wən*, division III under 東 *ung*, and 鍾 *wong*. In the remaining five, *wēi*, *wēi wēm*, *wən*, and *wāng*, there are contrasts of *k'ai* and *ho* for non labials, but none for labials. In the preceding section we could not decide whether to regard labials as *k'ai k'ou* or *ho k'ou* and so had to take subsequent change into dentilabials, based presumably on earlier or primary *ho k'ou*, as our criterion. Now if we had something like *piāng* > *piang*, but *piwāng* > *fiwāng* or if we had *pi^wat* > *pi^wat*, but *piuat* > *fuat*, then the *ho k'ou* would be really significant and could serve as a condition for phonetic change. But since we have nothing to tell us, at the stage of Ancient Chinese, what *ho k'ou* is primary and what is secondary, to call the *ho k'ou* dentilabials primary is merely to state the problem but does not solve it. It is no answer to refer to conditions in an earlier stage, say Archaic Chinese, except as a hint to inquiry, for the distinction had to manifest itself in some phonemic way in Ancient Chinese before it could result in such specific changes as that of *p* > *f* in subsequent stages. The question is, without any hypothesis as to its previous stage, what is it that we can actually see in Ancient Chinese as it is which, when present, corresponds to later dentilabials and, when not present, corresponds to later bilabials.

³⁶ Such *ho k'ou* KARLGREN regards as "primary." Cf. Word Families, 12.

³⁷ *Phonologie* 554-7.

KARLGREN throws out a hint by giving vowel quality as a criterion for rimes in group *chih*,³⁸ but does not show precisely how it works. Following up this idea of vowel quality, I was able to apply it to almost all cases until finally I reached the end of a blind alley. But the idea is so tempting that I shall go as far as I can with it in the hope that another student of the subject may be able to find a way out. The statement that bilabials become dentilabialized when they are *ho k'ou* in division III, that is, when they are rounded and palatalized, is reasonably plausible but hardly enough to be a phonetic explanation. Besides, it still remains to determine when a labial is rounded and if so whether "primarily." On the other hand, suppose we assume that, if a labial word has a high *i* and is further followed by a central (mixed) or a back vowel, which is usually associated with a retracted position of the jaw, then there will be a tendency for the lower lip to touch the upper teeth, thus resulting in dentilabials. How does this supposition square with the facts? Of the ten finals in which dentilabials occur, nine have central or back vowels, namely,

夫 <i>iü</i>	廢 <i>iwei</i>	否 <i>iəu</i>
凡 <i>iwen</i>	反 <i>iwen</i>	分 <i>iwen</i>
方 <i>iwang</i> ³⁹	風 <i>iung</i>	封 <i>iwong</i>

As to the rime 微 *iěi*, the chief reasons for regarding the first element as *ě* are that Go-on and Wenchow have *e* for the final and that the Min dialects often have *ui* even for *k'ai k'ou* words like 幾.⁴⁰ But so far as these reasons are concerned, would not *iəi* serve just as well? In relation to Archaic Chinese, it would serve even better. Thus KARLGREN writes: ⁴¹

	弗	拂
Archaic	<i>pjwət</i>	<i>pjwəd</i>
Ancient	<i>pjwət</i>	<i>pjwēi</i>

³⁸ *Phonologie*, 617

³⁹ We are taking *ə* as a central vowel, as against *ä*, a very back vowel. *Kuang yün* has 乚 *mja* which does not change into *mja*. As the *CH'ieh yün* fragments have no 乚, it may be regarded as a later addition made after the *p > f* change had already been stabilized.

⁴⁰ *Phonologie*, 616

⁴¹ *Word Families*, 17

In our scheme, it becomes as simple as this

Archaic	<i>puwət</i>	<i>puwəd</i>
Ancient	<i>puwət</i>	<i>puwəi</i>

This merely means that all the dentilabials have central or back vowels. If the criterion is valid, we must also be able to say conversely that all labials with high *i* followed by a central or back vowel become dentilabials. Referring back to our Table 3, we fail to find a place for the rime 幽, which KARLGREN reconstructs as *ieu* and calls type γ . With a "vocalic" *i* (our open *i*), division IV, apparently it does no harm to our theory if its labials 彪, 瓠 etc. refuse to join 否, 浮 in rime 尤 *ieu* to become dentilabials. But 幽 cannot be *ieu*. As pointed out by LI Fang kuei,⁴ its words are spelt by typically division III initials 居, 語, 香, 力, especially the fatal 巨, 渠 etc. *gi*, which never occur in type γ (IV) rimes. The supradental initial in 特山幽 *s*, attested by the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments, also excludes it from type γ , though it is quite possible in type α . What then is the difference between 尤 and 幽? The simplest answer is that 幽 is *ieu* and 尤 is *ieu*. This not only differentiates the rimes, both of which have to be of type α , but also explains the modern pronunciation 彪 *piao* and 縹 *miao* (as surname) through the phonetic similarity between *ieu* (rime 幽) and *ieu*. Since it has a front vowel *ë*, labials before it escape the change into dentilabials, as occurs in the case of 否 *piu*.⁵ Incidentally, this has the additional advantage of rendering it unnecessary to invoke, with KARLGREN, a sort of "action at a distance" of the *u* on the initial in *piu*. Such an action is not impossible the *umlaut* being an example but when available, an explanation by influence of contiguous sounds is naturally to be preferred.

In the remaining three finals with central vowels after high *i* before which bilabials did not become dentilabials our theory of

⁴ Ancient Chinese -ung -uk -uung -uok etc. in *Archaic Chinese* CIII (1933) 339, note 2.

⁵ That *miu* and *myung* (*myuk*) do not become dentilabials is probably due to the comparative laxness of the *i* after liquids at least in these finals as revealed by the alternate readings without medial in *Ch'ieh yun* and their modern readings.

vowel quality does not fare so well. In the finals 侵 *ɿm* and 霰 *ɿng*, the vowel *ə* agrees better with considerations of Archaic Chinese, but so far as their positions in the Ancient Chinese system or relation to modern dialects are concerned, there is no great objection to reading them as *ɿm* and *ɿng*. In fact, MASPERO had these values until he later accepted KARLGREN's values. The weakness in this assumption, however, lies in that it is made chiefly for the present purpose and not supported by other positive evidence.

The greatest obstacle which stands at the end of our blind alley, however, is division III of the rime 庚 *ɿng*, *wɿng*. Whereas labials became dentilabials before *ɿ-* with the endings *-i*, *-m*, and *n* (rimes 廢, 凡, and 元), they did not do so for the ending *-ng*. Is it possible that the rime 庚 had a front vowel in Ancient Chinese? On the basis of Archaic riming, KARLGREN reconstructs 庚 and 耕 as *ɛng* and *ɛng* respectively, where *ɛ* is something similar to the vowel in English *man*.⁴⁴ The rime 耕 has no final with medial *ɿ*. The rime 庚 has *ɿng* and *wɿng* as well as *ɛng* and *wɛng*. By the time of early Tang, before the dentilabialization began, the high *ɿ* medial may have influenced the vowel so as to make it an *ɛ* or *ə* (coalescing with 耕 or 清) and thus enable the word to escape dentilabialization. But if some such thing happened, why did it not happen to *ɿi*, *ɿm*, and *ɿn*? The supposition of *ɿ(w)ɛng > ɿ(w)ɛng* must then be only a gratuitous one made *ad hoc* just to fit the theory of dentilabialization as being conditioned by a high *ɿ* followed by a central or a back vowel.

I started with a fine theory and now end with this anti climax. The reason for making such a vain trip was desperate, for one cannot be satisfied with KARLGREN's condition of yod plus *ho k'ou*. Since there is no distinctive *ho k'ou* for labials in the sense that other initials have *ho k'ou*, we must say that dentilabialization occurs when and only when there is primary *ho k'ou*. And when is a *ho k'ou* primary for labials? It is primary when dentilabialization occurs! Thus we are left with no criterion, from the point of view of the phonological system of Ancient Chinese, short of

⁴⁴ Shi King Researches 157

bare enumeration of an arbitrary list of miscellaneous finals 廢, 凡, 元, 陽, 虞, 微, 尤, 文, 東三, 鍾, to tell when dentalabialization occurs and when it does not

5 VOWEL QUALITY AND QUANTITY

In Sections 1 and 2, we worked with one *i* phoneme and one *u* phoneme, though we found it convenient to write *i* and *i*, *u* and *u* under specifiable conditions. For the other vowels, it is very important to compare their patterns in the *wa*i and the *nei* groups as shown in Tables 3 and 4. There are short and long as well as open and close vowels in both types of groups. But on the whole the *wa*i groups have the open and long vowels and the *nei* groups have the close and short vowels. The vowel *e* occurs long in the *wa*i groups as the main vowel in type *γ* finals. It occurs always short in the *nei* groups. It is the only vowel in which the two groups meet according to Lo Ch'ang p'ei.⁴² Here an alternate treatment is quite possible. Instead of making the closeness and openness of *i* depend upon the following vowel, as *ian* vs *ien*, we can consider the difference between *i* and *i* phonemic and put the *e* in *ien* and the *a* in *iān* under the same phoneme, say calling it *ā*. Then the *ē* in the *nei* groups can be considered intrinsically short and need not be written *e*, thus 其 *ien*, just as *ə* is intrinsically short in 凡 *ien*. Can we go one step further and regard this *ā* also as a member of *a*? This is in fact what LAMASSE and JASMIN have done in their interdialect romanization, thus

	ɿ	ʊ	ɤ	ɿ
KARLSEN	<i>lan</i>	<i>lan</i>	<i>lian</i>	<i>lien</i>
LAMASSE & JASMIN	<i>lan</i>	<i>lean</i>	<i>lyan</i>	<i>lian</i>

We shall have to dismiss *lan lean* as a purely graphical, though very ingenious, device and stick to the distinction of two kinds of *a*'s in *ān* and *an*, etc. As to identifying *ian* with *ian* it will not work with ɿ *iang*, which contrasts with ʊ *iang*. LAMASSE and JASMIN get out of the difficulty by modernizing ʊ into *ing*. That of course we cannot do, as we are concerned now only with Ancient

⁴² Shih dei wei chuan C111 42 423

Chinese. So we must work with \hat{a} , a , \hat{a} , and if we recognize only one i , also a fourth vowel e in division IV of the *wai* groups.

Between ε and ∂ , there is complementary distribution, ε in the *wai* groups and ∂ in corresponding *nei* groups. They even agree in failing to be associated with dentilabialization when the ending is $-ng$! MASPERO does in fact take the vowel in all the *wai* groups concerned as long ∂ .⁴⁶ By taking ∂ to be the short correspondent of ε , just as \check{e} is the short correspondent of e (or a), we have

二十 文		$i\partial n$
二十一 欣	$i\partial n$	
二十二 元	$i\partial n$	$i\partial n$
二十三 魂		$u\partial n$
二十四 痕	$u\partial n$	

which makes the position of the rime 元 look more plausible, and mitigates somewhat the traditional scandal⁴⁷ about this rime in the popular riming system based upon LIU Yuan and YIN Shih-fu, where 元 absorbs 魂 and 痕. From the point of view of modern dialects, however, the divergence between the *wai* and *nei* groups in these rimes is very marked. Words in 元 are rarely treated in the same way as words in 魂 and 痕. After noting that ε can be regarded as the *wai* group correspondent of ∂ in the *nei* group, we shall continue to write ε and ∂ with lengths⁴⁸ implied.

In a search for distinctive distinctions, one always tends to regard singular cases with some suspicion. The vowel ε [æ] occurs only in the rime 耕 and in 臻 and part of 眞. In discussing the *k'ai* *k'ou* and *ho k'ou* of labials in Section 3 above, we noted that there were a few doublets 民: 泯 which could be interpreted as *mjēn* and *mjēn*. KARLGREN however considers 𠂔 as already having *iēn* by the time of *Ch'ieh yun*. In the cases where he postulates

⁴⁶ Dialecte de Tch'ang an, 65

⁴⁷ The so-called 該死十三元. Shall we say, 'the unlucky thirteenth rime *yūan*'?

⁴⁸ The length of ε as compared with ∂ is to be taken in the general sense that vowels in the *wai* groups are on the whole longer than corresponding ones in the *nei* groups. The important consideration here is the pattern of distribution of ε and ε and not the actual lengths or shades of qualities. Compare this with the case of "short i " in *bid*, which may be actually longer than the first vowel in *Peter*, though the latter is theoretically i or i .

Ancient *ien* or *wen*, there is no question of doublets. The rimes 臻 *ien* and 櫛 *iet* are limited as to tone and initial, and are complementary to 眞. Words in 眞 which KARLGREN gives as *wen*, such as 筠 *juen*, have no doublets either in 眞 or in 諄, which is combined with 眞 in the *Ch'ieh yun* fragments. The only doublet which touches *ε* as a member is that of 均居均 in 諄 as against 鑿居筠 in 眞, although the latter is unquotable from our *Ch'ieh yun* fragments. Since 均 is *luwen* in our notation, 鑿 will then be *kuen*. Except for this pair, one vowel *e* would serve for all initials under 眞, 臻, and 諄 without conflict. Since the occurrence of *ε* cuts across Lo Ch'ang p'ei's diagram of division between the *wai* and *nei* groups, there must be some difference in quality or quantity between the *ε* in *ien* and the *ε* in *eng*. Unless we should go so far as to invoke this new vowel *ε* to explain all the doublets some what in this way

支	宵	仙	眞
奇 <i>g'ie</i>	隨 <i>pau</i>	緬 <i>m(w)an</i>	混 <i>m(w)ēn</i>
祇 <i>*g'ie</i>	鑣 <i>*pieu</i>	*緬 <i>m(w)en</i>	堅 <i>m(w)en</i>

which would still fail to account for doublets like 軌 *kuai* vs 葵 *kui*, the independent status of the vowel *ε* remains rather unsatisfactory. Since, however, we have no evidence whatever for such reconstructions except for cases like 堅, we must let the matter stand where KARLGREN leaves it.

Another lone vowel is *ā* in the rime 江 *ang*. In modern dialects,⁴⁰ it behaves as if it had been *ang* for labials and gutturals and *uang* for supradentals. It fills the place admirably. MASPERO does give such a reconstruction for the rime 江, but assigns it to the ninth century, while for Ancient Chinese he still keeps the value *ang*.⁴¹ If we regard *ā* as a member of the *a* phoneme, we shall have to say that this phoneme has the value *a* when final or when followed by *i*, *u*, *m* (*-p*), *-n* (*t*), or when followed by *ng* (*l*) and preceded by *i* or *u*, but has the value *ā* when followed by *ng* (*l*) but not preceded by *i* or *u*. This is however, hardly an in

⁴⁰ Except of course Go-on which was the principal reason for the reconstruction *ang*.

⁴¹ Le dialecte de Tch'ang-an 80

telligible phonetic condition, and it would be better either to advance the date of *ang* to that of Ancient Chinese, or, more conservatively, leave the reconstructed lone *ā* as it is.

The lengths marked as *ai*, *ai*, *am*, *an*, etc. will be left as they are, as in the case of the special length for 之 *i*:. The rimes 夬 *ai* and 佳 *wai* differ from 佳 in that 夬 comes from Archaic *-d*, but we do not know in what way 佳 and 夬 were different in Ancient Chinese. We therefore mark 夬 with a prime, *ai'* and *wai'*.

6. SUMMARY

The purpose of the present study is practical rather than theoretical. It was motivated by the desire to give a simple workable account of the correlation of Ancient Chinese with any given modern dialect whenever the need arises, and for such a purpose, it would be well, as a preparatory step, to examine what simplifications in notation or systematization are possible in the currently used reconstruction. Our results are as follows:

(1) There is one phoneme *i*, with two values. Close *i* occurs before *ā*, *a*, *ə*, *e*, *ɛ*, and *ə*, or as main vowel, and open *i* before *e* or as an ending of a diphthong. As reminder notation, close *i* is written *î* except in the finals *i*(:) and *iě*. (The second *i* in *îai* need not be considered close or as main vowel.)

(2) There is a tendency, manifested in varying degrees for various initials, for the initial *ch'ieh* word representing all initials to agree with the final *ch'ieh* word (and therefore also with the main word) as to having a close *i* or not. The so-called pure and yodized initials in labials, dental liquids, and gutturals are never distinctive.

(3) Of the two varieties of the traditional initial *yü* 喻, the variety *yun* 云 is a member of the phoneme *γ* when it is followed by a close *i*. Following KARLGREN, we continue to write *ji*, meaning *γi*.

(4) There is only one initial *n*, as 孃 *na* (not *nj*), 娘 *njang*. This statement stands phonemically, irrespective of what values the initials may have, whether *nā*, *na*, *njang*, or *n* in all positions.

(5) There is one phoneme *u*. As reminder notation, it is written *u* when occurring before *ā*, *o*, *ə* and not preceded by *î*, and when

it is the only vowel besides *i* (i. e., in *iu* and *iung*), and when final. In all other cases, it is written *w*.

(6) Labials are *k'ai k'ou* or *ho k'ou* according as the finals before which they occur are exclusively *k'ai k'ou* or exclusively *ho k'ou*. Before finals which have both *k'ai k'ou* and *ho k'ou* forms, labials are regarded as neither *k'ai k'ou* nor *ho k'ou*, but just as labial. As a convenient notation, those which later became dentilabials are written *ho k'ou* and those which did not are written *k'ai k'ou*.

(7) KARLGREN's conditions for dentilabialization must be restated in order not to be circular. A guess is that labials before close *i* and a central or back vowel change into dentilabials. But this theory has some difficulties which have yet to be met.

(8) The vowels *ɤ* and *ɔ* may be regarded as the *wai* group and *nei* group members of one phoneme.

(9) The final 微 *jěi* was probably *iai*, 幽 *iau* was probably *ieü*. Just before dentilabials appeared, 侵 *iam* and 蒸 *iang* may perhaps have been *iēm* and *iēng* respectively.

(10) The place of KARLGREN's *ɛ* in the system of Ancient Chinese needs further investigation.

Following are the tables of initials and finals as revised. Though the interpretation is quite different in many places and though the combinations of initials with finals are altered in a number of cases, the resulting forms generally look, as they are meant to look, rather much the same as in Karlgren's system.

TABLE 1A INITIALS

		<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>b'</i>	<i>m</i>			
Labials								
Dentals	Plosives	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>d'</i>				
	Liquids					<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	
	Sibilants	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts'</i>	<i>dz'</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>		
Palatals	Plosives	<i>t̪</i>	<i>t̪'</i>	<i>d̪'</i>				
	Supradentals	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts'</i>	<i>dz'</i>	<i>s</i>			
	Sibilants	<i>t̪s</i>	<i>t̪s'</i>	<i>d̪z'</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>nž</i>	
Gutturals		<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>g'</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ɣ</i> ⁵¹	<i>ŋg</i>	<i>ɨ</i>

⁵¹ Written *ɣ* when followed by *i*

TABLE 2A TYPES OF FINALS IN WHICH VARIOUS INITIALS OCCUR

	I	II	III	III	IV
<i>p</i>	保 <i>páu</i>	包 <i>pau</i>	蔽 <i>pai</i>	非 <i>p_iwai</i>	閉 <i>piei</i>
<i>t</i>	多 <i>tá</i>	打 <i>təng</i>	地 <i>d'i</i>		低 <i>tiei</i>
<i>n</i>	那 <i>ná</i>	拏 <i>na</i>	尼 <i>niang</i>		泥 <i>niei</i>
<i>ts</i>	左 <i>tsá</i>		孛 <i>tsiəu</i>		濟 <i>tsiei</i>
<i>t̃</i>		町 <i>t̃əng</i>	治 <i>d'i</i>		
<i>ts</i>		渣 <i>tsa</i>	鄒 <i>tsiəu</i>		
<i>t̃s</i>			周 <i>t̃siəu</i>		
<i>k</i>	哥 <i>ká</i>	加 <i>ka</i>	甄 <i>kian</i>	建 <i>k_iən</i>	肩 <i>kien</i>

TABLE 3A FINALS: *Wai* GROUPS

Division Group	I	II	III _a	III _β	IV _γ	I	II	III _a	III _β	IV _γ
果假 蟹	<i>á</i> <i>ái</i> <i>ái</i>	<i>a</i> <i>ai</i> <i>ai</i> <i>ai'</i>	<i>ia</i> <i>iai</i>	<i>iá</i> <i>iei</i>	<i>iei</i>	<i>uá</i> <i>uái</i> <i>uái</i>	<i>wa</i> <i>wai</i> <i>wai'</i>	<i>iwá</i> <i>iwai</i>	<i>iwá</i> <i>iwei</i>	<i>iwei</i>
効咸	<i>áu</i> <i>âm</i> <i>âm</i>	<i>au</i> <i>am</i> <i>am</i>	<i>iau</i> <i>iām</i>	<i>ieu</i> <i>iem</i> <i>iem</i>					<i>iwem</i>	
山	<i>ân</i>	<i>an</i> <i>an</i>	<i>ian</i> <i>iēn</i>	<i>ien</i>	<i>uân</i>	<i>wan</i> <i>wan</i>	<i>iwân</i>	<i>iwen</i>	<i>icen</i>	
宕江 梗	<i>áng</i>	<i>ang</i> <i>eng</i> <i>eng</i>	<i>iang</i> <i>iāng</i> <i>ieng</i>	<i>ieng</i>	<i>uáng</i>	<i>wang</i> <i>weng</i> <i>weng</i>	<i>iwang</i> <i>iwāng</i>	<i>iweg</i>	<i>iweg</i>	

TABLE 4A FINALS Nei GROUPS

Division Group	I	III _a	III _β	I	III _a	III _β
遇				uo	wo	
止		ɿ	ɿɿ		u	uɿ
流		ɿ̃			wɿ̃	
深	əu	əu				
臻		ɿ̃u				
		ɿ̃m				
	ən	ɿ̃n	ɿ̃n	uən	wən	wən
		ɿ̃n			wən	
會	əŋ	ɿ̃əŋ		uəŋ	wəŋ	
通				uŋ	uŋ	
				uŋ	wŋ	

COMMENTS ON WRITINGS CONCERNING CHINESE SORGHUMS

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PRELIMINARY NOTE

Several years ago, the writer came across the following note by Wu Ch'i-chun 吳其濬, author of the *Chih wu ming shih t'u k'ao* 植物名實圖考:¹

"The *Nung chêng ch'uan shu*² has the item, 'Cultural methods for *shu shu* [*Sorghum vulgare* Pers.]' credited to the *Ch'i min yao shu*;³ but, as the literary styles are different, I suspect that the author erred when he made this text follow the preceding item, 'Cultural methods for the *liang shu* [glutinous species of *Setaria*, given in the *Ch'i min yao shu*], and in wrongly writing, 'For cultural methods of *shu shu* it [*Ch'i min yao shu*] also states,' while omitting to mention the original work, for, actually the words quoted are from the *Nung shu*.'"⁴

¹ This note, which occurs in his *Chih wu ming shih t'u k'ao*, 1 49 50 of the illustrated section, original edition of 1848, and p 27 of the new 1919 reprint, is embodied within his article entitled *Shu shu chi chi pien* 蜀黍卽稷辯, in which he disputes the claim that *shu shu* or *Sorghum vulgare* Pers. of the present day is identical with the *chi* 稷 or non-glutinous *Panicum miliaceum* of antiquity. For note concerning Wu Ch'i-chun and his work, cf. BAERS, *B. S.*, 1 73 75.

² Ming dynasty treatise on agriculture, sericulture, etc., by Hsu Kuang-ch'i 徐光啓 1562-1634. *Ibid.*, pp 82 84. For quotation in question, see 25 9, v lower, col 8 of the *Wên Hai Shu Chu* 文海書局 edition of 1900, this having been selected for convenience in photographing. For corresponding text in the large 1843 edition, see 25 13 14. In this context, *shu shu* is written 蜀黍. Other permissible forms, such as 蜀稷, 蜀黍, 蜀黍, and 稷黍 will be found quoted from various sources mentioned in this article.

³ Treatise on agriculture, sericulture, animal husbandry, etc., by Chia Ssu hsiieh 賈思勰, of the Posterior Wei dynasty A.D. 386-534. *Ibid.*, pp 77-79. Although written in this early period it is an invaluable work which covers every essential activity connected with an economy based upon the soil.

⁴ Yuan dynasty treatise on Agriculture, sericulture etc., by Wang Chêng 王禕, and first published in 1300. The original edition is lost to the world. Our copy is

Chinese text of note: 農政全書載有「齊民要術種蜀黍」一條文義不類恐沿上一條「種梁秫」而誤書「又曰」遺其本書當是農書中語耳。

The meaning of this note will become clear if one examines Plate 1, showing text of the *Nung chêng ch'uan shu*. Note that the heading, *Yu chung shu shu fa yueh* 又種茹秫法曰, in col. 8 of folio 9, v. lower, directly follows the paragraph headed, *Ch'i min yao shu chung liang shu fa yueh* 齊民要術種梁秫法曰, in col. 5, so that the characters, *Yu* 又 . . . *yueh* 曰, "It . . . also states," appear to refer to the *Ch'i min yao shu*. Subsequently, the compilers of the *T'u shu chi ch'êng* 圖書集成³ presumed this to be the case, so, when quoting this account, they attributed it without question to the *Ch'i min yao shu*, thus completing this serious error.⁴ See Plate 2, showing text as given in the *Nung shu*.

As reliance upon this account, wrongly credited to the *Ch'i min yao shu*, has misled scholars who have studied the history of the Chinese sorghums, their period of introduction, etc., I am venturing a discussion of some of these misconceptions in the following pages.

COMMENTS ON THE INTRODUCTION OF MAIZE INTO EASTERN ASIA,¹

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER

Despite its title, Dr. LAUFER's article also deals at length with the grain and saccharine sorghums in China, and some of his statements show that he also was misled by the account wrongly credited to the *Ch'i min yao shu*.

one reproduced in the *Wu yang tien chü chên pan ts'ung shu* Cf *Library Science Quarterly* (Chinese text), vol IV, nos 3-4 Sept. and Dec, 1930 pp 440-46, for interesting account concerning this work Cf also BRITS., B S, 1 81

³ Chinese Imperial Encyclopedia, originally published about 1725 Our text is that of the small movable type reprint, published by Major Brothers in Shanghai about 1884 Cf W F MAYERS' interesting account concerning this famous work, in *China Review*, vol VI, July, 1877 to June, 1878, pp 218-223 Cf also index to this work by LIONEL GILES, 1911

⁴ The *Shou shih tung k'ao*, an agricultural treatise compiled by imperial command and published in 1742, also contains this error Cf ch 24 11 v

¹ In *Report of Proceedings of the Congress International des Americanistes*, Quebec, 1906, vol XV pp 225 262

On page 225 of his paper, he states "Sorghum was not known in the period of Chinese antiquity, and is not mentioned either in classical or other early literature. It first occurs under the name *shu shu* 蔴稊 in the *Ch'i min yao shu* of Chia Ssu hsieh, who is said to have lived in the fifth century, A D. This notice is as follows: 'The spring month is the most suitable for burying the seeds [of the sorghum] in the earth. The stalk is over ten feet high. The ears are big like brooms, the grains black like lacquer or like frog's eyes. When ripe it is harvested by mowing and gathering it into sheaves, which are set up. The fruit yields a grain which is hulled and eaten. Oxen and horses may be fed with the refuse, and even the waste material may be utilized. The stalks can be made into brooms for cleaning pots, the blades can be plaited into door screens, mats, and fences. Besides, it is served at table, so that there is nothing that need be thrown aside. This is one of the most serviceable grains and indispensable to the farmer.'"

Dr LAUFER has made a grave error here, as no such text is given in the *Ch'i min yao shu*, despite the fact that it has been so credited by the compilers of the *Tu shu chü ch'êng* (Chinese Imperial Encyclopedia). Actually, it is the account of *shu shu* or *Sorghum vulgare* Pers., given in WANG Chêng's *Nung shu*, first published about 1300, or about 900 years after the *Ch'i min yao shu*. There are several other errors in LAUFER's version quoted above, which will be noted further on in my translation of the complete account of the grain sorghum given in the *Tu shu chü ch'êng*.

After finishing his translation of the text concerning the sorghums as given in the *Tu shu chü ch'êng*, Dr LAUFER makes the following observation: "If we analyze the preceding records, it is easily recognizable that the different varieties of sorghum are treated indiscriminately. The most striking fact, from an historical point of view, is that both LI Shih-chen and Hsu Kuang ch'ü agree in the statement that sorghum can only be a recent introduction, the former saying that it did not date so far back in the past, but grew plentiful in the north of China in his time (that is, the second half of the sixteenth century), the latter positively denying its occurrence in times of antiquity, and referring to an introduction from

a foreign country Neither of them—according to the general experience in the history of the dissemination of cereals, which so suddenly appear and spread with such rapidity—is able to assign a definite date to the introduction, but Li Shih chên affords a most valuable clue for unravelling the mystery by his interpretation of *shu shu*, the name for *Sorghum vulgare*, as millet (*shu*) of Sse ch'uan (*shu*), in which province, according to him, it was first grown Thus far matters would be easy but for the fact that the mention of sorghum is ascribed to two much older works, the *Kuang ya* and the *Ch'i min yao shu* How can the opinions of Li Shih chên and Hsu Kuang ch'i regarding a recent importation be reconciled with this condition of affairs? (Cf pp 227 28)

The first sentence of the above appears to be partly based upon F. PORTER SMITH's statement, which he quotes in footnote 3, p 227 'The sorgo or Chinese Northern Sugar Cane is described in the *Pên Ts au* [*Pen ts'ao lang mu*] along with the Sugar cane and the *Holcus sorghum* [now *Sorghum vulgare*] or Barbadoes Millet' This implies that all three are mixed together in Li Shih-chên's work but this is not correct Following the precedent set by all the early authors of Chinese herbals, the *kan chê* 甘蔗 or *Saccharum officinarum* and *ti che* 荻 or *Sorghum saccharatum* are treated together in the *Pen ts'ao lang mu*, 33 13, but neither of these two are mentioned in the account of *Sorghum vulgare* which is given in 23 27 of the above work In this same footnote 3 on page 227, Dr LAUFER states "Already Bretschneider (*Chinese Recorder*, Vol 3, p 289 a) referred to the fact that the glutinous kind of Li Shih-chên is *S. saccharatum* and his non glutinous kind, *S. vulgare*"

This questionable statement appears to be based upon the following by BRETSCHNEIDER, in the *Chinese Recorder*, vol 3, p 289 'In the year 1862, Mr Collins was sent from America to China in order to study the mode of manufacturing sugar from this plant by the Chinese But he was very much astonished at finding that the Chinese knew nothing about the fact that sugar can be made from it The cultivation of it is limited in China The stem, cut into little pieces, is eaten in a raw state The grain is used like the grain of *Sorghum vulgare* In the Chinese botanical works the

Sorghum saccharatum is mentioned under the same name as the *Sorghum vulgare*. Cf. article, *Shu shu* 蜀黍 *Pên ts'ao kang mu* 23, 6, Ch [Chih wu ming shih t'u k'ao], ch 1. But it is there said that two kinds of this plant are cultivated, the one is glutinous and with glutinous rice is used in manufacturing alcoholic drinks and is also made into cakes. This is *Sorghum saccharatum*. On account of the glutinous properties of this plant, it is very difficult to obtain sugar from it in a pure state. The other kind (*Sorghum vulgare* or *kao liang*) is not glutinous. It makes good gruel and cakes and is good for feeding cattle. Cf. Mr. Collins' article regarding the Northern Chinese Sugar cane in the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1865."

While it is true that in this article concerning *shu shu* in the *Pên ts'ao kang mu* (23, 6), *lu su* 蔗, a term for the saccharine sorghum, is given, it is merely one of six other synonyms for *shu shu*, and, as nothing about the saccharine sorghum is mentioned in Li Shih chen's account, there is the inference that this is merely another instance wherein one name has been applied to two plants. BRETSCHNEIDER's assertion that the glutinous kind used in manufacturing alcoholic drinks is *Sorghum saccharatum* is without any logical basis and shows that he failed to note references to the actual *Sorghum saccharatum* which are included in the *Pen ts'ao kang mu* account concerning *kan ché* or true sugar cane, *Saccharum officinarum*, given in Ch 33. 13. These early references are quoted from T'AO Hung ching's (452-536) *Ming i pieh lu* 陶弘景名醫別錄 as follows: "There is also a *ti ché* [identified as *Sorghum saccharatum* Pers., by MATSUMURA's *Chinese Names of Plants*, p. 25, and STUART's *Chinese Materia Medica*, pp. 386 and 416] with widespread nodes and slender canes and this kind may also be eaten." Further on Su Sung 蘇頌, 1020-1101, is quoted as follows: "There are two kinds. The *ti ché* canes are slender, short, and have widely separated nodes, and while suitable to be eaten raw, they may also be cooked to make a sugary syrup." He also states: "Of that which the merchants sell in the northern regions there is much *ti ché* and little *chu ché* 竹蔗 [another name for the true sugar-cane, *Saccharum officinarum*]." Li Shih-chên also quotes WANG Shao's 王杲 *Tang shuang pu* 唐雙譜, a Sung dynasty

treatise on sugar making, as follows "One kind called *lé ché* 蔗, which is also called *la ché* 蠟蔗, is identical with *tí ché* 荻蔗, and this may also be used for making granulated sugar" (Cf 33, 13, v)

There is something to be said about BRETSCHNEIDER's reliance upon statements made by Varnum D COLLINS. Apparently when Mr COLLINS reached China in his quest for information about Chinese saccharine sorghum, the only botanical description given him was an abridged and rather free translation of the account of *shu shu* 蜀黍 or *S. vulgare*, given in the *Pên ts'ao kang mu* (23 6). Most probably this was selected because of the presence of the name, *lu su* 蔗粟, which, although listed as one of the six alternate names for the *shu shu* or grain sorghum, also happens to be a name for the saccharine sorghum. Therefore it is quite clear that those who desired to help him were unaware of the existence of textual material concerning saccharine sorghum, embodied within the account concerning *kan ché* or true sugar-cane, *Saccharum officinarum*, and this lack caused him to say "Strange as it may appear, I cannot find in their agricultural works or in actual practice, the slightest evidence that the Chinese cultivate Sorgo [Loo-tsoh 蔗粟] for any other purpose whatever, than for chewing and sucking the stalks. So far as I can learn, the plant is cultivated in this province only—chiefly on the island of Ts'ung ming in the Yangtse just opposite Woo sung, and from thence the Shanghai market is supplied" (Cf *JNCBRAS*, ser 2, vol 2, 1865, p 91).

Dr LAUFER again shows his reliance upon this passage, wrongly credited to the *Ch'i min yao shu*, in his statement on pp 228 29 of his article "More serious and more difficult is the passage in the *Ch'i min yao shu* of the fifth century, in which a variety of sorghum is undeniably described. I think, however, that a way out of this difficulty is possible. The variety described in the *Ch'i min yao shu* is, in my opinion, *Sorghum saccharatum* the variety of recent introduction mentioned by Li Shih-chên and Hsu Kung-ch'ü is *Sorghum vulgare*. This decision rests mainly on the fact that the grains of the sorghum are described as black (and as black as lacquer) in the *Ch'i min yao shu*, which is indeed the case with *Sorghum saccharatum*, while Li Shih-chên speaks of red and black grains, thus comprising the two varieties

"To which of the two varieties of sorghum Wang Ying² 汪穎 who wrote about a half century before Li Shih-chên, alludes in the passage quoted above,³ must remain undecided, but in all likelihood he means *Sorghum vulgare*, possibly both. However this may be, it is perfectly safe to assume that *Sorghum vulgare* was introduced from abroad into China not long before the time of Li Shih-chên, possibly a century or so, say about the end of the fifteenth."

As for the *Ch'i min yao shu*, it was unnecessary to speculate, for, as has been shown, no such account is given in this work. However, Dr. LAUFER had no warrant for his deduction that this text refers to a saccharine sorghum, for, as the translation shows, the name, characteristics, and utilization all indicate that it is the grain sorghum that is being described. His assumption that *Sorghum vulgare* was introduced into China about the end of the fifteenth century is also incorrect. What appears to be the earliest unmistakable reference to the culture of the grain sorghum in China occurs in the following account in the *Nung sang chi yao* 農桑輯要, compiled and published by order of Kublai Khan in 1273: "The *Wu pên hsin shu* 務本新書 [says], "The *shu shu* 蒺黍 is suited to low-grade lands. It is planted early in the spring months and with little labor one can harvest much grain which will keep. What is left after human consumption may be taken together with the many broken grains, mixed with bran, and used as feed for the five domestic animals [cattle, horses, swine, sheep, and donkeys]. Besides this the stalks can be woven into door-

² Ming dynasty author of the *Shih wu pên ts'ao* 食物本草, a treatise on foods and drugs published in the beginning of the 16th cent. BRERs., B S, 1 53

³ This passage is as follows "Sorghum (*shu shu*) is sown in the northern regions to provide for the lack of grain. The refuse is fed to oxen and horses. It is the most excellent of all cereals. The people in the south call it *lu ts'i*" (LAUFER version)

⁴ According to the *Yuan Ming shih lei ch'ao* 元明事類鈔, or records concerning the Yuan and Ming dynasties, at the very beginning (1260) of his reign, Kublai Khan decreed that this work be compiled (See 7 2, r) The edition we have is that reproduced in the *Hu ying tien chu chên pan ts'ung shu*

⁵ This work is also quoted in the *Nung shu*, but without any indication of its origin. Possibly the author and period were given in the first edition of the *Nung shu*, but we no longer have this as it is said to have been destroyed in the confusion attendant upon the downfall of the Yuan dynasty

screens, plaited into wattles, and used as fuel. In the markets outside the city gates these parts may be sold and also bartered for other products." (For Chinese text, see Plate 4.)

This account, published seventeen years earlier than that in the *Nung shu*, is not quite so long, but, being practically the same as far as it goes, it is a fair presumption that both were derived from the same source. Unfortunately, the *Wu pên hsin shu* quoted here does not appear to be listed in the bibliographies with definite information about its origin. BRETSCHNEIDER lists it under No. 1059 in his *Botanicon Sinicum*, vol. I, with the statement that apparently it is a production of the Ming period, but obviously this cannot be correct, as we find it here quoted in a work first published in 1273.

At the end of his paper, Dr. LAUFER has reproduced the Chinese text of the *T'u shu chi ch'êng* account of *S. vulgare*, together with his translation, and I have done likewise. (See Plate 2.) However, as certain parts of his version seem to me inaccurate, I am submitting some alternate readings and corrections. This account begins with the following list of much-disputed names and their sources when given:

Shu shu 蜀黍

Ti liang 荻粱

Mu chi 木稷

Lu chi 盧稷

Shu shu 蜀稷

Lu su 盧粟

Kao liang 高粱

*Shih wu pên ts'ao** 食物本草

*Kuang ya*¹ 廣雅

Kuang ya

Shih wu pên ts'ao

No source given

No source given

Pên ts'ao kang mu 本草綱目

* Treatise on foods and drugs written by Wang Ying 汪穎 at the beginning of the Ming period, 1368-1644. *BRETS.*, B S., 1 53

¹ This name is also written 荻粱. Regarding the names *ti liang* and *mu chi*, LAUFER makes the following comment: "Now, Li Shih-chên quotes from this dictionary the two terms *ti liang* and *mu chi*, but there is no evidence whatever that these two terms, which went out of use long ago and seem solely restricted to the work in question, ever denoted sorghum or related plants." The writer is inclined to agree with this statement, but the persistent use of these two names to denote the grain of sorghum calls for a word of comment. The *Kuang ya*, also known as the *P'o ya* 博雅 (the change being due to an observance of a talao against the character *kuang* 廣), was written by CHANG I 張揖, who was given the title *P'o-shih* 博士 in the time of Tai-

Following the list of names and their sources, there is a crude drawing supposed to represent *S. vulgare*, but it does not serve to identify this plant.

The account begins with the short description erroneously credited to CHIA Ssü-hsieh's *Ch'i min yao shu* by the compilers of the *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, and to correct this I am supplying the name of the true author and title of work in brackets.

[Wang Chêng's *Nung shu*] has the following under the heading *Shu shu* 蜀黍: "Plant in the spring months. It is suited to low grade lands^a The stalks are over ten feet high and have panicles

ho (227-32) In this work there is the bare statement "The *ti liang* is the *mu chi*" Cf ch 10 15, v of reprint in the *Han Wei ts'ung shu* Some subsequent commentator associated these two terms with the grain sorghum and they are constantly listed as synonyms for *shu shu* 蜀黍 in editions of the *Pên ts'ao kang mu*, *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, and even in WANG Cheng's *Nung shu*, if we can rely upon WANG Nien-sun 王念孫 1744-1832, who wrote a commentary on the *Kuang ya* entitled, *Kuang ya su chêng* 廣雅疏證 (in *Huang ch'ing ching chieh*, 1270 7, r) These two names do not appear in present day editions of the *Nung shu*, but might have been included in the text as given in the first edition which is now lost to the world Li Shih chen gives the following explanation of these names "According to the *Kuang ya*, the *ti liang* is the *mu chi* Because this [*shu shu* 蜀黍] is also of the *shu* 黍 and *chi* 稷 class and is tall and thick as the *lu* 蘆 and *ti* 荻 reeds the common people have these various names As its seed first [came] from Shu 蜀 it is called *shu shu* 蜀黍" Despite positive statements such as this, we must be skeptical because of the lack of documentary evidences that *S. vulgare* was cultivated in China in this early period It would be of interest to learn just when these terms *ti liang* and *mu chi* began to be regarded as synonyms of *shu shu* Evidently they were not so regarded in the T'ang dynasty 618-907, for, rather significantly, this quotation from the *Kuang ya* is found in a fragment (ch 864) of the *Hsiu ryaku* 秘府略, a manuscript copy of an encyclopedic work compiled by imperial order by SHIGENO Sadanushu 滋野貞主 in A D 831, under the subheading *Liang* 粱, a term for *Setaria italica* Cf facsimile reproduction of ch 864 and 868 in Lo Chen yü's 羅振玉 collection entitled, *Chi shih an ts'ung shu* 吉石齋叢書, v 21 fol 19 In this work there are quotations from thirteen sources all obviously referring to the *liang* or *Setaria* species of millet That from the *Kuang ya* consists of the bare statement "The *ti liang* is the *mu chi*" being without any gloss, asserting that these are alternate names for *shu shu* The same is true of this quotation as given in the *T'ai ping yü lan* which was completed A D 938 Cf ch 842 6 r These two instances would seem to show that this much disputed quotation actually was meant to refer to the *liang* or *Setaria* species of millet and should no longer be regarded as linguistic evidence that *shu shu* or *S. vulgare* was cultivated in China in the period in which CHANG I wrote his *Kuang ya*, approximately A D 227-32

^a LAUFER has translated these two sentences into one, as follows "The spring month is the most suitable for burying the seeds in the earth" This is not exact as the author is giving the type of land suitable for sorghum as well as the time for planting

as large as a broom. The grain is dark as lacquer and like a frog's eyes. When ripe, it is cut and formed into sheaves which are stacked in perpendicular shocks. The seeds make a grain which may be eaten, and what is left is fed to cows and horses. It may also be used to relieve in time of famine.⁹ The tips of the stalks can be made into brooms. The stalks can be utilized by weaving into door-screens, plaiting into matting, interweaving into fences, and for fuel in cooking, so there is no part thrown away.¹⁰ It is an excellent grain that is the salvation of the world and is indispensable to the farmers."

The *Nung chêng ch'uan shu* has the following account under *Shu shu* 蜀秫: "Hsuan-hu hsien-shêng¹¹ 玄扈先生 says: 'Anciently we did not have the *shu shu*. In subsequent generations the seed was probably obtained from other regions. Its glutinous kind closely resembled *shu* 秫 [glutinous *Setaria italica*], therefore they borrowed this name and called it *shu*. Through error, people of the present speak of this [*shu shu*] as the *shu* 秫, not knowing that there is the *liang shu* [粱] [glutinous *Setaria italica*]. There is another kind called *yü mi* 玉米 [jade rice, *Zea mays*, L.], also called *yü mai* 玉麥 [jade wheat], *yu* [玉] *shu shu* [jade sorghum]. Because the seeds of this were also obtained from another region, the terms *mi* 米, *mai* 麥, and *shu shu* are all borrowed names for it.'"

He also says: "In localities in the northern regions which are not suited to wheat and other grains, they plant this. It is especially suited to low grade lands.¹² Five days after the begin-

⁹ LAUFER translates "The fruit yields a grain which is hulled and eaten. Oxen and horses may be fed with the refuse, and even the waste material may be utilized." Here the words, "and even the waste material may be utilized," are incorrect, as *chi Huang* 濟荒 can only mean, "Relieve in time of famine."

¹⁰ In this part Laufer has translated *kung ts'uan* 供爨, "Besides, it is served at table." This is wrong as the author has already mentioned its use as food and is here referring to the final disposition of what is left of the stalks as fuel for cooking meals. See also text of *Nung sang chi yao* (Plate IV) where *shao ch'ai* 燒柴 is given.

¹¹ This is the literary name of Hsü Kuang-ch'i.

¹² LAUFER translates "He further says, 'In the northern parts of China the soil is not favorable to wheat and other grains. The seeds of sorghum are much more suitable to it.'"

Here LAUFER has missed the force of the first part of this statement for certainly it cannot be said that all the northern regions are unsuited to "wheat and other grains." By running the end of the first sentence into the beginning of the second, he has con-

ning of autumn [August 7th], even though submerged in flood waters to a depth of ten feet, it cannot be spoiled; but if the flood waters come before the beginning of autumn, then the crop will be ruined. Therefore in the northern localities they build dykes two or three feet high in order to shield it from the turbulent floodwaters. If these dykes can be saved for several days, then though the accumulating waters come in great volume, the crop will be without injury."

He also says: "In Ch'in 秦 [Shensi Province], wherever the soil is alkaline they plant *shushu*. When planting *shushu* in the low grade lands, it is especially suitable that it be sown early, so it is necessary to plow about the time of the *ch'ing ming* 清明 season [April 5th to 19th]."¹³

The *Pên ts'ao kang mu* discusses *shu shu* under the subheading, "Explanation of names," as follows: "Li Shih-chên says: 'In the past not much *shu shu* was to be seen, but now it is most abundant in the northern regions. According to the *Kuang ya*, the *ti liang* 荻梁 is the *mu chi* 木稷 or tree millet.' Because this is also of the *shu* 黍 and *chi* 稷 [glutinous and non-glutinous *Panicum miliacium*] class, and tall and thick as the *lu* 蘆 and *ti* 荻 reeds, the common speech contains these various names. Its seed first came from Shu [Western Szechwan] therefore it is called *shu shu* 蜀黍." "¹⁴

fused the meaning, as obviously the author is again referring to this sorghum's suitability to low grade lands

¹³ LAUFER translates "Where in the country of Ch'in [i.e. North China] there is a salt soil, sorghum is planted in the ground, for it is especially suited to the sowing of sorghum. It is necessary to plow early, from the first to the last in the solar term *Ch'ing ming* [that is, from April 5 19]"

This is somewhat confused, as the period should come after "planted", the words "in the ground" should be "low grade lands", and the words "from first to last" should be "about"

¹⁴ LAUFER translates "The *Kuang ya* mentions the *ti-liang* and *mu chi* ('wooden millet')

This is inexact, as the *Kuang ya* makes the positive statement that the *ti liang* is the *mu chi* or tree millet and not "wooden millet"

¹⁵ LAUFER translates "It was first cultivated in Shu (Szechwan), and is therefore called *shu shu*, that is millet of Szechwan"

LAUFER translates *chung* 種 as "cultivated" here, but this cannot be correct, as *tsu* 自, "from," clearly implies something being sent or brought from Szechwan, so "seed" is the logical word here

Speaking of *shu shu*, WANG Ying says: "In the northern regions they plant this as a provision against a lack of grain foods. What is left is fed to cattle and horses. It is the earliest of the grains.¹⁶ The southern people call it *lu chi* 蘆稗 or reed millet."

LI Shih-chên says: "The *shu shu* is fit for poor land.¹⁷ In the spring months the seed is broadcasted. In the autumn months it is harvested. The stalks are ten feet or more tall and of a form similar to the *lu* and *ti* reeds, but the culms are solid. The leaves are also like those of the *lu* reeds.¹⁸ The panicles are as large as a broom. The grains are as large as pepper seeds and of dark red color, while the hulled grain is of a hard nature, solid, and yellow and red-colored.¹⁹ There are two kinds. The glutinous variety can be mixed with glutinous rice and glutinous millet and fermented into wine, and may also be used for making cakes.²⁰ The

¹⁶ LAUFER translates "It is the most excellent of all cereals." However, "excellent" is not the correct word here, as the author's meaning is that it is the leader of all grains because it is the earliest planted. There is plenty of evidence to prove this, but the following will be sufficient. "Of the various grains, the *kao liang* alone is the tallest and thickest and is also planted before the others so it is called the leader of the five grains 五穀之長." Cf. *Huang ch'ing ching chieh*, 549 2, 1.

¹⁷ LAUFER translates this "Sorghum is convenient to sow."

This is incorrect, for, as has been pointed out before, the author is giving the type of land suitable for this grain.

¹⁸ LAUFER translates "The stalk is over ten feet high, in shape resembling the *lu* *ti*; also the fruit inside, and the leaves, are like the *lu*." Here the words, "fruit inside" are incorrect and should be, "the culms are solid."

¹⁹ LAUFER translates "The grains (*li*) are big like pepper, or red and black color and hard as hulled rice. The fruit (*shih*) is yellow and red in color." Here, it seems to me, LAUFER has wrongly split into two sentences what should be one, and has missed the meaning of the second half, which is that the hulled grains of sorghum are naturally hard and solid.

²⁰ There has been much confusion created regarding the significance of terms used in writings concerning Chinese sorghums. For example, BRETSCHNEIDER and LAUFER asserted that wherever glutinous sorghums were mentioned in ancient Chinese texts these referred to *Sorghum saccharatum*, while the mention of non-glutinous sorghums referred to *Sorghum vulgare*. However there does not appear to be any sound basis for these conclusions. In order to clear up this debatable question the writer referred to this matter to Mr. JOHN H. MARTIN, Senior Agronomist in Charge, Sorghum and Broomcorn Investigations, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., and received a reply in which he stated that tests of Chinese Amber sorgho show that it is glutinous, and a number of the grain sorghums or kaoliangs which have been received from China were also found to be glutinous. The glutinous character seems to be similar to that

non-glutinous can be used to make cakes or dumplings and may be boiled into a gruel. It can be used to relieve hunger in time of famine and can be used to nourish the domestic animals.²¹ The tips of the stalks can be used to make brooms; the stalks can be woven into door-screens and matting, plaited into wattles, and used as fuel in cooking.²² It is of the greatest benefit to the people. Those who use this grain in their sacrificial ceremonies in the place of *chi* 稷 are wrong.²³ The grain hulls when steeped in water color it red, and this liquid can be used to redden wine.²⁴ The *Po wu chih* 博物志 states: 'Localities planted in *shu shu* for a long period will have many snakes.' "

found in waxy maize, and is due to their possessing a waxy endosperm. Consequently the so-called glutinous sorghum, millet, and rice have no reference to gluten or protein. The character is best described as waxy in the case of sorghum and corn.

From this explanation, we may presume that the references to a "*nien*" 黏 (glutinous) sorghum merely refer to its viscous nature when cooked.

"LAUFER translates "Also the waste material can be utilized, cattle can be nourished with it." The first half of this sentence is incorrect, and should be as we have given it, the second half is not wholly correct, as the author has in mind all the domestic animals and not cattle alone.

"LAUFER translates "From the blades door screens and mats can be plaited. It contributes to our table."

Here he has not mentioned that the stalks can be plaited into wattles. The words "It contributes to our table" are incorrect, as this is another reference to the final use of the stalks as fuel in cooking.

"This is a reference to the people who use *kao liang* for this purpose, believing it to be identical with the *chi* 稷 or sacred grain of antiquity.

"LAUFER translates "The husks of the grain, when soaked in water, assume a red color, and red wine can be made of it."

As phrased here, the meaning is not clear. The real sense is as we have given it above.

"This is a work by CHANG HUA 張華, A D 232-300. The significance of this statement is discussed further on in this article.

Note: There are three or four more columns of text devoted to the medicinal uses of the grain and roots of the plant, but as these parts have been omitted by Dr LAUFER, I am doing likewise. This part is very brief compared with the space given the old Chinese grains. Also the only sources quoted are Li Shih-chen himself and a CHANG Wen-shu 張文叔 to whom one new prescription is credited. This is highly significant for if *S. vulgare* was introduced into China as early as some writers claim, it would have become a part of the Chinese pharmacopoeia at a much earlier period than the Ming dynasty. This circumstance and the appearance of the first description of this grain in the *Nung sang chi yao* published in 1273 would seem to warrant the statement that this grain sorghum began to be cultivated in China sometime during the Southern Sung dynasty 1127-1278.

BRETSCHNEIDER'S CONTRIBUTIONS

In his *Botanicon Sinicum*, 1: 78, BRETSCHNEIDER gives a long list of plants treated in his *Ch'i min yao shu*, and, as he includes *shu shu* or *S. vulgare*, it is probable that he also was misled by the error of the compilers of the *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, to which I have already called attention. Also, in vol. 2 of the same series, p. 147, under item No. 342, in which *hei shu* 黑黍 or dark-colored millet is treated, he makes the following reference to sorghum: "Williams (Dict. 439-776) suggests that the black-seeded millet of the classics may have been a variety of sorghum, for no species of *Milium* now cultivated has black seeds. I do not agree with this view, for there is evidence from ancient Chinese authors that *Sorghum* first became known in China in the 3rd century of our era. It had probably been introduced from India. The character *hei* 黑, meaning black, is not necessarily to be taken literally; it may in this case mean dark-colored."

Judging from the period mentioned, this evidence from ancient Chinese authors refers to the following quotation from CHANG Hua's *Po wu chih*:²⁸ "Localities planted in *shu shu* for three years will for the following seven years have many snakes." (Cf. *Ch'i min yao shu*, 10. 1, v.) However, if he were satisfied with the mere mention of the term *shu shu*, he might have selected the following

²⁸ It is doubtful because the *Kuang ya* also is a work of the 3d century, having been written about A D 227-232. However, I am inclined to believe that it is the *Po wu chih* to which he is referring because the author CHANG Hua is said to have lived A D 232-300, and also because the name *shu shu* actually occurs in the quotations from this work, while in the *Kuang ya* the names *ti liang* and *mu chi* were only associated with *shu shu* by subsequent commentators. Needless to say, one cannot always rely upon these subsequent commentaries. In his search for historical references to the grain sorghum, the writer came across what seemed to be an arbitrary opinion in the *Wên hsien t'ung k'ao* (4 20, v) by MA Tuan lin, who lived in the 13th cent. In this work there is a list of the seven main classes of grains in which taxes were paid in T'ien-hsi 5th year (1021). One of these was *shu 黍*, and under this name there was a comment stating that in this class there were the three following kinds: *Shu 黍* which must refer to *Panicum miliaceum* var. *glutinosa*, *shu shu 蜀黍*, which would logically refer to *S. vulgare*, and *tao shu 稻黍*, also denoting a grain sorghum. This appeared to be an earlier reference to the grain sorghum than any previously found, but a comparison with the original text in the *Sung shih* 宋史 (174 2 of the small *Chi ch'êng* t'u shu reprint) disclosed that there were no such comments after these seven names

much earlier quotation, credited to the *Po wu chih*: "In Ti-chieh 地節 3rd year (B. C. 67) they planted *shu shu*." (Cf. Liu Pao-nan's 劉寶楠, 1791-1855, *Shih ku* 釋穀 or Explanation of the Grains, 2: 13.) In this same work the first of these quotations is credited to Chuang tzü 莊子, circa B. C. 330. As the *Po wu chih* is regarded as a source of doubtful reliability, and as there is no documentary evidence to show that this grain sorghum was grown in China in this early period; it leaves the inference that *shu shu* denoted some other grain, and the presence of the character *shu* 黍 would indicate that it was a *Panicum miliaceum* var. *glutinosa* of Shu 蜀 or Western Szechwan.

BRETSCHNEIDER has discussed the *shu shu* in the various installments of his article, Study and Value of Chinese Botanical Works (in *Chinese Recorder*, vol. 3, 1870-71), but as his contradictory statements concerning the significance of early grain names, their history, etc., have caused great confusion, it will be necessary to consider them in detail. On p. 174 he has the following: "*Shu* 黍 (P. XXIII, 3, ch. W. 1).²⁷ According to Dr. Williams (Bridgman's Chrestomathy, p. 449), this character denotes Sorgho. But at Peking *Panicum miliaceum* is called *Shu* and the description of this plant in the *Pên ts'ao* [*kang mu*] suits more with *Panicum*. When it is hulled, it is a roundish little corn of pale yellow color; when boiled it becomes very glutinous. The hulled corn is called *Huang mi* 黃米 (yellow corn) at Peking. From the *Huang mi* the *huang tsiu* 黃酒, yellow whiskey, is distilled."

Although every word used here indicates *P. miliaceum* var. *glutinosa*, it will be seen later on that BRETSCHNEIDER changed his mind and claimed that this *shu* 黍 of the classical period actually was *S. vulgare*.

On page 175 he states: "It cannot be decided from the Chinese authors, whether the guinea corn *Sorghum vulgare*, now extensively cultivated in North China, as in Southern Europe, Africa, Western Asia, and India, is indigenous to China. It is not mentioned in the Chinese Classics. The most ancient work quoted by Li Shih-chên is the *Kuang ya* 廣雅, written at the time of the Wei,

²⁷ These are the *Pên ts'ao kang mu* and *Chih yü ming shih t'u k'ao*

386-558 * The Chinese names for Sorgho are *Shu shu* 蜀黍 (the first character denotes the province of Szechwan), *Lu su* 蘆粟 (reed millet), *Mu tsu* 木稷 (tree millet) (*Kuang ya*), *Kao liang* 高粱 (high millet) The latter is the common name at Peking, where it grows plentifully and is employed chiefly for feeding horses and for distilling whiskey called *Shao-tsu* 燒酒 "

All this very clearly points to *S vulgaris* Note here that BRETSCHNEIDER states that this grain is *not* mentioned in the Chinese classics, but he also changed his mind about this, as the following will show "I stated above [p 174] that at Peking nowadays the character *shu* 黍 is applied to *Panicum miliaceum* This corn has glutinous properties and is called *huang mi* 黃米 or yellow corn This character *shu* has been for a long time erroneously used in this connection, and this erroneous application of it took place before the 6th century The *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (XXIII, 4) quotes a writer of the 6th century," who states that the *shu* [黍] is cultivated to the north of the Yang tse Kiang The plant resembles the *lu* 蘆 (reed), the corn is greater than the millet The author adds that the character *shu* [黍] is erroneously applied to another kind of corn 稷 (This character is likewise pronounced *shu*) This latter cereal is separately described in the *Pên ts'ao kang mu* (XXIII, 13) The grain called *huang mi* is said to possess much glutinous matter It is used for manufacturing alcoholic drinks This corn [*shu* 稷] was known to the Chinese in the most ancient times It seems to me that the meaning of the character *shu* 黍 in ancient times was not glutinous millet (as Dr Legge states, of his translation of the Shi-chung), but rather Sorgho, as Dr Williams translates (in Bridgman's Chrestomathy, p 449) ' *Ibid.* p 287

One seeks in vain for anything in this or the previous statement which could be construed as evidence that *shu* 黍 is anything other than glutinous *Panicum miliaceum* No one else has attempted to question the identity of this grain because it is so well documented in Chinese literature as far back as the classical period

* This is incorrect as the *Kuang ya* was written about A D 927-932

** This is TAO Hung-ching A D 432-536 author of the *Sing ts'ek lu*

Also, there could be no mistake about this grain as described by LI Shih-chên, for he lists all the well known synonyms used in the classics, quotes only the orthodox texts, and expresses no contrary opinions concerning it. BRETSCHNEIDER's reference to the account given in ch. 23: 4 of this work proves nothing one way or another, for here, it seems to me, is what the author says: "T'ao Hung-ching says: 'Both in Ching-chou 荊州 [present Hunan, Hupeh, and part of Honan] and Ying-chou 鄧州 [part of present Hupeh] and north of the Yang-tse-kiang, they plant this. Its stalk is like a *lu* 蘆 reed but is different from the *su* 粟 [*Setaria italica*]. The grain kernels are also larger. People of the present who frequently call the *shu su* 秫粟 [glutinous *Setaria italica*] by the name *shu* 黍 are wrong.'"

Despite his changing viewpoints and what appear to be arbitrary opinions, BRETSCHNEIDER has influenced other writers who have attempted to throw some light upon the history of the sorghums. For example, Dr. S. Wells WILLIAMS quotes BRETSCHNEIDER's statement, saying: "If this deduction is true, the cultivation of this plant dates from about 2000 B. C. The precise uses of this grain in ancient times can only be inferred. If the identity of the *shu* (mentioned in the classics) with sorghum could be proved beyond question, this grain would rank in age as grown in China with any in the world." Cf. *Sorghum Sugar Industry*, National Academy of Sciences, Nov., 1883, pp. 57-58.*

BRETSCHNEIDER's statement about its probable introduction from India, his final assertion that it was cultivated in China in the pre-

* In a footnote on page 18 of his *Botanicon Sinicum*, BRETSCHNEIDER, speaking of his work, *On the Study and Value of Chinese Botanical Works*, says that it came to light with such a profusion of misprints and other inaccuracies that it would be ridiculous to append to it a complete list of *errata*. He finally says "I therefore would feel quite disposed to disavow this my first scientific essay, all the more since at the time I wrote it I had not sufficiently mastered the subject, and many of my former statements require modification."

This leaves us in a quandary. However, I am inclined to believe that his statements concerning the sorghums are among those allowed to stand, because they were quoted by Dr. CANDOLLE fifteen years after their publication. BRETSCHNEIDER does not go into this question of sorghums in China in his *Botanicon Sinicum* series, even in vol. 3 of this work which is devoted to Chinese Materia Medica, and was published in 1893; he omits all mention of *shu shu* or grain sorghum.

Christian era, and his hypothesis built upon the Chinese names of grains, the significance of which repeatedly changed down through the centuries, are best answered by DE CANDOLLE in the following "Absence of a Sanskrit name also renders the Indian origin very doubtful Bretschneider on the other hand says that the sorghum is indigenous in China, although he says that ancient Chinese authors have not spoken of it It is true that he quotes a name common at Peking, *lao liang* (tall millet), which also applies to *Holcus saccharatus* [the saccharine sorghum now identified as *Sorghum saccharatum* Pers], and to which it is better suited Common names tell us nothing, either from their lack of meaning or because in many cases the same name has been applied to the different kinds of *Panicum* and *Sorghum* I can find none which is certain in the ancient languages of India or Western Asia which argues an introduction of but few centuries before the Christian era

"There remains, therefore, the single assertion of Dr Bretschneider that the tall sorghum is indigenous in China If it is the species in question, it spread westward very late But it was known to the ancient Egyptians, and how could they have received it from China while it remained unknown to the intermediate peoples? It is easier to understand that it is indigenous in tropical Africa, and was introduced into Egypt in prehistoric times, afterwards into India and finally into China, where its culture does not seem to be very ancient, for the first work which mentions it belongs to the fourth century of our era" **

It seems to me that DE CANDOLLE's logic is sound, and serves to effectively dispose of BRETSCHNEIDER's claims However, he has fallen into error in his statement that the term *lao liang* or tall millet also applies to the saccharine sorghum He has repeated this error in his discussion concerning the saccharine sorghum on pp 382-83, just as LAUFER has called attention to it, in the footnote on p 227 of his article Also, his mention of a work of the fourth century of our era being the first to mention the tall grain sorghum must be due to a slip of the pen, as BRETSCHNEIDER's reference is to a work of the third century

** Cf *Origin of Cultivated Plants* pp 381-82

DE CANDOLLE gives expression to his own ideas regarding this matter in the following: "The sorghum has not been found among remains of the lake-dwellings of Switzerland and Italy. The Greeks never spoke of it. Pliny's phrase about a *Milium* introduced into Italy from India in his time has been supposed to refer to the sorghum; but it was a taller plant, perhaps *Holcus saccharatus*. The sorghum has not been found in a natural state in the tombs of ancient Egypt."

VAVILOV touches upon this question in his *Science at the Cross Roads*, as follows: "The fifth world center is found in mountainous Eastern Africa, chiefly in mountainous Abyssinia. This small center is rather peculiar, being characterized by a small number of independent important cultivated plants displaying an extraordinary variety of forms. Here we find the maximum diversity in the world, so far as the varieties of wheat, barley, and perhaps also the grain sorghum, are concerned." Further on he also says: "It is our conviction that Egypt has borrowed its crop plants from Abyssinia to a considerable extent." (P. 6.)

In his "Studies on the Origin of Cultivated Plants," VAVILOV makes the following definite assertion regarding the original place of production of grain sorghum: "The center of origin of a certain group of cultivated plants is generally characterized by many specialized parasites peculiar to a given group of plants. Thus the center, where the diversity of specialized parasites characteristic of a certain group of plants is concentrated, coincides, as might have been expected, with the center of their hosts. The greatest diversity of species of smut on rye has been found in Southwestern Asia, the center of diversity of this crop. Out of ten species of smut living on Sorghum, the majority has been found in Africa alone, . . . the native country of the sorghum."†

CONTRIBUTIONS BY CHINESE WRITERS

In their discussion of the problem of the introduction of *S. vulgare* Pers. into China, none of the European or American writers gives us any indication that they were aware of the viewpoints of

† Cf. *Bull. of Applied Botany and Plant Breeding*, in Russian with English summary, Vol. 16, 1926, p. 151

scholars of the Manchu period, such as CH'ÈNG Yao-t'ien 程瑤田, 1725-1814, author of the *Chiu ku k'ao*²⁹ 九穀考; LIU Pao-nan, 1791-1855, author of the *Shih ku*³⁰ and WANG Nien-sun, author of the *Kuang ya su chêng*. However, as these men have dealt with the history of Chinese grains, their terminology, etc., it would seem that no discussion of this problem could be complete without a presentation of their ideas. Perhaps the most comprehensive treatise is CH'ÈNG Yao-t'ien's *Chiu ku k'ao*. In this work, the author boldly claims that the *kao liang* 高粱 or *S. vulgare* of the present is identical with the *chi* 稷 or non-glutinous *Panicum miliaceum* of remote antiquity; and that the term *shu shu* 蜀黍 is merely one of many other names which were used in ancient times to denote the *kao liang* of the present day. In the main, his argument runs as follows: "According to the *Shuo wên* 說文, the *chi* 稷 is the *tzū* 粢, it is the leader of the five grains. The *tzū* 粢 is the *chi* 稷. The *tzū shu* 黍稷 is the glutinous variety of *chi* 稷. *Tzū* 黍 is the alternate form of *tzū* 粢; *shu* is the alternate form of *shu* 苽."

Commenting on this, CH'ÈNG Yao-t'ien says: "In my opinion *chi* 稷 and *tzū* 粢 are general terms. The glutinous variety is *shu*. In the northern regions they call this *kao liang* 高粱. Some call it *hung liang* 紅粱. It is commonly called *shu shu* 秫秫 and is also called *shu shu* 蜀黍. Because it is of the *chi* 稷 class, is tall and thick like a *lu* 蘆 reed, Wu Jui³¹ 吳瑞, a man of the Yüan dynasty, stated that as the stalk of the *chi* 稷 is like a *lu* reed, and as the grain kernels were also large, the southern people called it the *lu chi* 蘆稷. The *Yueh ling*³² 月令 states: 'If in the first month

²⁹ This *Chiu ku k'ao* or Researches concerning the Nine Grains is included in the *Huang ch'ing ching chieh*, 549-51, large edition of 1829.

³⁰ According to the author's preface, this treatise was published in 1840. It has been reprinted in the *Kuang ya ts'ung shu*, vol. 105.

³¹ Wu Jui is the author of the *Jih yung pên ts'ao* 日用本草, or Herbs for daily use. According to the *Pên ts'ao kang mu* bibliography of works used as sources, Wu Jui lived in the time of Wên-tsung 文宗 (1328).

³² The *Yüeh ling* is a section of the *Li chi* 禮記 or Book of Rites, and constitutes a sort of almanac in which are instructions regarding human activities for each month in the year. For this reason it was a valuable guide for farmers, especially in the matter of proper time to plant crops. As given here, the quotation from the *Yüeh ling* is elliptic. For the complete paragraph, as translated by Legge, *Sacred Books of the East* 27:257.

of spring activities proper to winter were carried out, the first sown seeds would not enter the ground.' [That is, would not germinate.] According to CH'ENG Hsüan's 鄭玄, A.D. 127-200, commentary, the ancient explanation of the words *shou t'ung* 首種, 'early sown and late ripening,' refer to the *chi* 稷. Now, if we consider the order of precedence in planting the various grains in the northern regions, we find that *kao liang* [*S. vulgare*] is the very earliest; *su* 粟 [*Setaria* species] is next; and *shu* 黍 [*Panicum miliaceum* var. *glutinosa*] and *mi* 糜 [non-glutinous *P. miliaceum*] follow these; therefore this *shou t'ung*, 'early sown and late ripening' grain is the *kao liang* 高粱." Cf. *Huang Ch'ing ching chieh*, 549: 1-2; also 551: 3, v., where CH'ENG Yao-t'ien gives a full-page figure of *S. vulgare*, with the name *chi* 稷 in the upper right, while in his note to the left of the drawing, he uses the name *kao liang* 高粱, thus indicating that he regards these two terms as synonyms for this grain. He also questions LI Shih-chên's statement that the people of the present who use *kao liang* in their religious sacrifices because they believe it to be the equivalent of *chi* 稷 are mistaken, and accuses LI Shih-chên of a lack of discrimination in his investigations. He then asserts that the people of the present regard the *kao liang* as the *chi* because the elders have handed down *chi* as the ancient name, so the people are not mistaken about this.¹

The generally accepted idea that the prefix *shu* in the term *shu shu* 蜀黍 signifies some connection with Szechwan is also vigorously denied by CH'ENG Yao-t'ien. He cites several examples from the *Êrh ya* 爾雅 and *Fang yen* 方言, showing the use of *shu* 蜀 as a prefix having the same meaning as *tu* 獨, "single," "large," etc., and attempts to prove through these that the term *shu shu* 蜀黍 signifies a grain of the *chi* 稷 * class, with a single large stalk, and not that its seed came from Szechwan.**

¹ Cf. *Huang ch'ing ching chieh*, 549 3, v.

* This is the opinion of a Chinese lexicographer and is at variance with ideas expressed by botanical, medical, and agricultural writers. Even today, if one examines a list of Chinese vegetable products, he will find numerous instances wherein *shu* 蜀 or *ch'uan* 川, which has the same significance, are used as prefixes to names of plants, grains, etc., always indicating a connection with Szechwan, either as a mark of excellence or place of origin. As authorities such as the *Nung chêng ch'üan shu*, *Kuang ch'ün fang p'u*, and *Pên ts'ao kang mu* agree that *shu shu* [*S. vulgare*] was not grown in

Despite their fantastic nature, CH'ENG Yao-t'ien's ideas have found acceptance among other scholars of the Manchu period, including LIU Pao-nan, WANG Nien-sun, CHU Pin³³ 朱彬, CHU Chun-shêng³⁴ 朱駿聲, 1788-1858, and TUAN Yu-ts'ai³⁵ 段玉裁, 1735-1815. Among his arguments, the most striking is the statement that the *kao liang* of the present is identical with the *chi* of antiquity, a claim based upon an unwarranted interpretation of CH'ENG Hsuan's ancient commentary on the text of the *Yueh ling*. Apparently he chose to ignore Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕, A. D. 133-92, another well-known commentator, who has declared that the words *shou t'ung*, "early sown and late ripening," refer to the *hsu mai* 宿麥 or winter wheat, for, this being planted in the second month of the previous autumn, it must necessarily be earlier than the *chi* 稷, which is said to be sown in the first month of spring. (Cf. *Shih ku*, 2: 11, r.) Also, in the *Chia yü* 家語, Confucius states that the *shu* 黍 is the leader of the five grains. (Cf. *Shih ku*, 2: 10, r.) But even if we accept CH'ENG Hsuan as the authority in this matter, it would seem far-fetched to claim that this *chi* grain of antiquity is identical with the *kao liang* of the present day because by pure coincidence this latter happens to be an early planted grain and is used in religious sacrifices by the people of the north.

CH'ENG Yao-t'ien's criticism of LI Shih-chên for stating that those who use *kao liang* in their religious sacrifices are wrong, and his claim that *chi* 稷 is the ancient name of *kao liang* 高粱 are illogical, because he is implying that *chi* 稷 exists only as a name. This is clearly disproved in the following statement concerning *chi* in the *Chih yü ming shih t'u k'ao ch'ang pien*: "At present people do not greatly prize this grain, using it only in religious

China in ancient times, there remains the inference that the term *shu shu* in ancient works, such as the *Po yü chih*, denoted *P. muticum* var. *glutinosa* grown in Szechwan or of a type grown in Szechwan, and when found in later Chinese writings, it denotes *S. vulgare*, being an example of a transfer of names

³³ Cf. *Huang ch'ing ching chieh*, 549 5, v.

³⁴ Author of the *Li chi hsün tuan* 禮記訓纂, cf. 6 12, r.

³⁵ Author of the *Shuo wen t'ung hsün ting shêng* 說文通訓定聲 Cf. explanation of *chi* 稷 in *I yü yü* 頤部五 section, p. 119, v col 5

³⁶ Author of the *Shuo wen chieh tsu chu* 說文解字注 Cf. *Ch'ien shang* 七 篇上, p. 42, r col 5

sacrifices. The farmers plant it as a provision against the failure of other grain crops, then they use it for food."³⁶ This is especially significant, as in this context Wu Ch'i-chün is speaking about practices in the north, where the people should certainly know the difference between *chi* or *P. miliaceum* and *S. vulgare*. The following from the same source shows that in accordance with the law of the survival of the fittest, millets such as *chi* have been largely displaced by the superior *kao liang*: "As a rule farmers strive for profit and note what is valuable and what is cheap in their time. Instances of things valued in ancient times but rejected at present are very numerous. Now the people of the northwest who plant *chi* are very few, and I fear that in some future time this variety will be lost to the world." And to indicate that *kao liang* has been introduced into China, he says: "Various scholars merely say that *kao liang* is a northern variety, and do not know that it is called *fan shu* 番黍, 'foreign millet,' in Ch'uan-chou 泉州 and Chang-chou 漳州 [both in Fukien Province]; while in Kueichou Province, wherever the Miao 苗 tribesmen dwell, they plant this grain without leaving an empty space." And to point out the danger in attaching too much importance to the presence of identical characters in names of grains, he says: "For example, there is the *Yu shu shu* 玉蜀黍 [Indian corn, *Zea mays*, L.], a species of which there is no evidence in ancient times, but which is now cultivated extensively. North and south of the Huang-ho 黄河 or Yellow River, it is called *yu lu shu shu* 玉露秫秫, but this kind certainly is not of the *shu shu* 蜀黍 [*S. vulgare*] class." (1: 51.) He also makes the following points against the assertion that this *shu shu* really is the *chi* of antiquity: "Not only is the *shu shu* without mention in the classics, but even the *pên ts'ao* ³⁷ 本草 or herbals

³⁶ Cf 2 106, v cols 4-5. As Wu Ch'i-chün is really quoting from Su Sung's 蘇頌, 1020-1101, *T'u ching pên ts'ao* 圖經本草, it is evident that even in this early period the *chi* grain had ceased to be an important crop with the Chinese, and was only raised for use in religious ceremonies.

³⁷ The words "*pên ts'ao*," as used here, are somewhat ambiguous, as they occur in the title of many herbals. Most probably he is referring to the very early works of this kind, of which there were very many. Although it was first described in the *Nung sang ch'i yao*, published in 1273, it does not appear to be treated in the herbals until the publication of Wang Ying's *Shih wu pên ts'ao*, at the beginning of the 16th century.

do not include it. Only the *Po wu chih* first listed this name. The *Chiu ku k'ao* first stated that it is identical with the *chi*, quoting from extensive and ancient sources, and rejecting the former explanations. The *Kuang ya shu chêng* and the *Shuo wên chieh tzu chu* also accepted the viewpoint of this work' (1 46, r). But despite this, Wu Ch'î-chun states "Although I do not consider it wrong to use the name *chi* 稷 to denote the *chi* 稷, still I find it absolutely impossible to believe that the *shu shu* 蜀黍 is identical with the *chi* 稷" (1 48, v).

CHU Chun shêng author of the *Shuo wên t'ung hsun ting shêng* has the following under *chi* 稷: 'CH'ENG Yao tien's statement that the *chi* is the present day *kao liang* is certainly true. It is tall and thick as a *lu* reed and is planted in the first month; therefore it is the leader of the five grains. Its grain is rough surfaced and large, therefore they called this *shu shih* 疏食 or coarse food. This is identical with the *chi shih* 稷食 mentioned in the *Yu Tsao* 王藻 [Book 11] of the *Li chi* 禮記. The *Kuang ya*, in its explanation of the plants, states that the *ti liang* 藎粱 is the *mu chi* 木稷, and because from the Ch'î and Han dynasties down, they wrongly regarded the *liang* 粱 as the *chi* 稷, they added to the *kao liang* 高粱 the name *mu chi* 木稷. (I pu ti wu 頤部第五 section p 119, v, cols 5 6). As this implies the use of *kao liang* in the time of Confucius [B C 551-497] and as there is the same illogical attempt to associate the present *kao liang* with the *chi* of antiquity, CHU Chun shêng's assertions must also be rejected as fantastic. Rather curiously, he contradicts himself in his explanation of the character *liang* 粱: 'The *Kuang ya*, in its explanation of plants, states that the *ti liang* is the *mu chi*. In my opinion, this is the *kao liang* of the present. It is improbable that this kind had entered China in the time of the *San tai* 三代 or Three dynasties [Hsia, Shang and Chou, which extended from B C 2205-250]. It is also called *shu shu* 蜀秫 and *shu shu* 蜀黍. Its grain has no relation to the *liang* 粱, *shu* 秫, *shu* 黍, or *chi* 稷[?]. The *kao liang* stalk is ten or more feet tall; the grains are as large as pepper seeds; the glutinous kind is used to ferment into wine and the non glutinous is used for food. At present in the northwest there are many

suitable hilly areas where they plant this" (*Chuang pu ti shih pa* 壯部第十八, p 45, r cols 8-10) In his explanation of the character *ku* 穀, he also says "The *lao liang* of the present is called *shu shu* 蜀黍, *shu shu* 蜀秫, *lu chi* 苽稭, and *ti liang* 荻稭 In the *Santa*, or Three dynasties period, this kind had not entered China Also, the *hu ma* 胡麻, which is the present *chih ma* 脂麻 [*Sesamum indicum*] was first had by subsequent generations Both [the *shu shu* and the *chih ma*] are unmentioned in the classics" (*Hsu pu ti pa* 平部第八, p 62, r, cols 6 7)

TUNG Shih-chun 董事進, a modern Chinese, writing of the sorghums, separates them into the three following kinds

(1) *Chou shu shu* 帚蜀黍 or broom sorghum, *A sorghum* var *obovata*

(2) *Tien kao liang* 甜高粱 or sweet *kao liang* or *lu su* 苽粟 *A sorghum* var *saccharatus*

(3) *Kao liang* 高粱 or grain *kao liang*, *A sorghum* var *vulgare*
He makes no mention of a glutinous *kao liang* in his article Rather curiously, he also states that China is the original place of production of *kao liang*, but gives no evidences or authorities in support of his claim²⁸

SUMMARY

Hsu Kuang ch i's mistake in attributing the *Nung shu* (1300) account concerning the grain sorghum to the *Ch'i min yao shu* (386 534), and its perpetuation by the compilers of the *Tu shu chi ch eng* (about 1725), have been the cause of much error in the writings of subsequent authors Reliance upon secondary sources, when the originals were available, caused BRETSCHNEIDER, DE CANDOLLE LAUFER and other writers to fall into error With the exception of linguistic data, none of the criteria used in the scientific method such as indigenous names, archaeological remains presence of the wild form *Andropogon halepensis*, and wide diversity of forms of the grain with their corresponding insect and disease pests, are found in China We have found no unmistakable documentary references to *S. vulgare* earlier than that in the *Nung*

²⁸ Cf Science [K'o Hsueh 科學] vol 5 1919 pp 712 16

sang chi yao, published in 1273. Most probably "*shu shu*," the old term for the glutinous *Panicum miliaceum* grown in Szechwan Province, was transferred to the grain sorghum. As LAUFER points out, even the Tibetan name, *sa lu*, is derived from *çâli* the Sanskrit term for rice, thus indicating introduction from India. The claim that the grain sorghum was cultivated in China as early as the second or third century seems untenable, as there is no mention of this indispensable grain in the *Ch'i min yao shu*. The attempts of CH'ENG Yao t'ien and other Chinese writers to place the culture of the grain sorghum back into the pre Christian era are fantastic and appear to be mainly based upon arbitrary interpretations of the texts of the early commentators on the classics. In view of the definite tendency of the Chinese to utilize the grains in their dietetics and therapeutics, it is significant that no mention of such use of the grain sorghum is found until the publication of WANG Ying's *Shih wu pên ts'ao*, at the beginning of the 16th century. The compilers of the *Nung sang chi yao* quoted freely from works of the Posterior Han, A D 25-221, the Posterior Wei, A D 386-534, and the T'ang, 618-907, but in all of these there is no mention of a grain or saccharine sorghum. Instead, we have only the short account from a source entitled, *Wu pên hsin shu*, which is not listed in any of the bibliographical works, and might well be merely a Yuan dynasty imperial exhortation designed to encourage and aid the people in the practice of agriculture. All this is significant, as it would seem that if references to grain sorghum were to be found in early works, the compilers of the *Nung sang chi yao* would have noted them. Basing upon available linguistic data, the writer has ventured the opinion that the grain sorghum was introduced into Northern China in the latter part of the Southern Sung dynasty. But as to how and whence it came, we can only surmise. The history of the Yuan dynasty has no mention of it. However, all this does not preclude the possibility of its existence in western Szechwan in a much earlier period. Possibly future exploration in fossil flora of this region, including Yunnan, Kweichow, and Szechwan provinces, might disclose new proofs to nullify all present theories. For a working hypothesis, the writer suggests that the Mongols under Genghis Khan and succeeding

monarchs, having made a complete conquest of Western and Southwestern Asia, could hardly fail to have noticed the cultivation of this grain in India and possibly the countries to the north and northeast, including Tibet and that part of Szechwan bordering upon Tibet. It would seem, however, that it remained for Kublai Khan and his Chinese advisers, who were engaged in the post-war reconstruction of Northern China, to realize the importance and suitability of this grain in the economy of the north. As for the question regarding the original place of production, it would seem that Asia must be eliminated, and consideration given to the theory of DE CANDOLLE, that Africa is the home of the grain sorghum; and to the claims of VAVILOV, that the area Abyssinia is the specific center from which it has been disseminated to all parts of the world.

蜀黍食料 葵子食料 木糧食料 蘆稈食料
蜀黍名 葵子名 高粱名 高粱名

蜀黍圖



古今圖書集成

博物彙編草木典第三十卷藝部全考之十四

賈思勰齊民要術 蜀黍

春月種宜下土柔高丈餘種人如得其根如種如始眼時收刈成束攤而立之其子生米可食條及牛馬又可濟荒其基可生澆帶耕得可以種宜編荒隨作發無有至者亦種世之一穀屬家不可闕也

農政全書 蜀黍

元冠先生曰蜀黍古無有也後世或從他方得種其結若近珠故名焉今人相指此為黍而不
知有黍之誤誤家別有一節玉人或稱玉黍或稱玉蜀黍蓋亦從他方得種其曰玉黍蜀黍皆借
名之也 又曰北方地不宜黍未嘗乃種此尤宜下地立秋後五日置米發至一丈而不能再
之有立秋前水旱即種故北土黍近三尺以經基水相隈防賴且如客水大至亦無害也
又曰秦中蘇地則種蜀黍下地種蜀黍特宜早須清明前後種

本草綱目 蜀黍類名

李時珍曰蜀黍不甚經見而北方最多獲履種葵木糧也蓋此亦黍類之類而高大如履葵

叔价有諸名種如自蜀故謂之蜀黍

羌解

注類曰蜀黍北地種之以備穀種及牛馬穀之最長者南人呼為蘆稈 李時珍曰蜀黍其
地在布種秋月收之至黃熟狀似蘆稈而肉質亦似蘆稈大如臂粗大如繩紅褐色米性堅
實黃赤色有二種結不可和種黍隨酒作餅不黏者可以作餅不黏者可以作餅可以養畜皆可作
餅可種常備儲供最有利於民者今人祭祀用以代糧者誤矣其穀殼發水色紅可以紅酒博
物志云地種蜀黍久多蛇

米食法

甘溫潤滑

土性

李時珍曰蜀黍中種勝胃止渴助食與黍米功同

根土性

葛黍

務本新書葛黍宜下地春月早種省工收多耐用人食之餘攪碎多拌麩糠以飼五牯外稽稈織箔夾籬寨作燒柴城郭貨賣亦可變物

葛黍

葛黍春月種宜用下地莖高丈餘穗大如帚其粒黑如漆如蛤眼熟時收刈成束攢而立之其子作米可食餘及牛馬又可濟荒其梢莖可作洗帚皆程可以綴諸夾籬供爨無有棄者亦濟世之良穀農家不可闕也

THE MIAO-MAN PEOPLES OF KWEICHOW

LIN YÜEH HWA 林耀華

FELLOW OF THE HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE

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Lo Jao tien (1793-1854),
author of the *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*

A valuable account of the history, customs and distribution of the Miao-Man peoples of Kweichow is contained in the *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*,¹ preface dated 1847, by Lo Jao-tien. Lo Jao-tien, *tsü Su ch'i* 蘇溪, was born in 1793² in the district of An hua 安化 in central Hunan. The name Jao-tien is said to have been given him by reason

* For the Chinese characters see the Bibliography at the end of this article

¹ This book is cited in TORII Ryuzo *Byozoku chosa kokoku* 2-3 Ts'ao Ching yüan *Kwei-chou** 79 and Ts'ao Ching yüan *Ien-chiu** 50. See Bibliography for complete titles.

² The biography of Lo Jao-tien is found in the following sources: (1) *Hu-nan tung chih*, 1882-1883, 18² 40b-42a [quoted from *An-hua hnen chih* 安化縣志] (2) Li Yuan tu (1891-1887) *Lo Wen hsi kung pieh chuan* in *Hsu pei-chuan chi* 1910 25 12a 14a 李元度, 羅文信公別傳 (3) *Ch'ing shih lich chuan* Shanghai 1928 42 17a 19a *Ch'ing shih lich chuan* states that Lo Jao-tien died in 1854 and Li Yuan tu not only confirms this date but adds the fact that Lo Jao-tien was sixty-two years old at his death which would place his birth in 1793. Herbert A. Giles *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* Shanghai 1898 1337 gives both these dates. Chiang Liang fu *Li tai ming-jen nien-lu pei-chuan tung pao* Shanghai 1937 姜亮夫, 歷代名人年里碑傳總表, 商務 errs in giving the date of Lo Jao-tien's birth as 1790 and the date of his death as 1852.

of markings on his hand which were thought to resemble the character 典. In his youth he studied for twelve years in Yüeh lu Coll 嶽麓書院, situated at the foot of Yueh lu mountain, west of Ch'a sha 長沙, the capital of Hunan. Later he entered upon his literary & political career by taking the usual examinations. In 1825, he became a Senior Licentiate of the First Class 拔貢,* and the next year, having passed the Examination at the Palace 廷試, he was appointed Official of the Seventh Rank 七品小京官 under the Ministry of Revenue 戶部. In 1828-1829 he passed Provincial and Palace examinations 鄉試, 殿試, obtained the degree of Chin shih or Metropolitan Graduate 進士, and was promoted to Bachelor 庶吉士 of the National Academy 翰林院, the highest establishment of learning in the Chinese Empire. In 1832 he attained the degree of Compiler of the Second Class 編修. Two years later he was made an assistant examiner and in 1835, was appointed Provincial Examiner 主考官 for Szechwan.

Lo Jao-tien demonstrated his interest in the Miao Man people and his grasp of practical matters by a strategic map of the Yao stockades* which he submitted to Emperor Tao-kuang (1821-1850) during a Yao rebellion in Hunan. He won the notice of Ts'ao Chi-yung (1755-1835) 曹振鏞,* who recommended him to the emperor as a man of useful talent. Having also been recommended by several other high officials* Lo Jao-tien was granted an interview with the emperor. The emperor, after his departure, was heard to remark that Lo was a spirited and talented man capable of assuming the responsibilities of a position outside the imperial capital. Thereupon in 1839 he was appointed Prefect 知府 of Ping yang 平陽 in Shensi. He was promoted to Grain Intendant 倉糧道 in 1839, and in 1840 was appointed Provincial Judge 按察使 of the same province. In 1841 he was transferred to the post of Provincial Judge of Shansi.

* Yueh lu College was established in the middle of the K'ang hsi 康熙 era (1662-1722) and the buildings were repaired in the era of K'ang hsi (1662-1722). Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) the great Sung scholar used to lecture in this college.

* For the translation of official names and titles I follow H. S. Hartwell and V. V. Hackett.

* See note 29 in Chapter 2.

* At that time Tsao Chi-yung was Grand Councilor 軍機大臣 and had the privilege of daily audience with the emperor. Cf. his biography in *Chung shih tzu 307* 307-1a-4a.

* He was especially recommended by Pan Shih-shan 潘世榮 (1779-1834) and Wang Tung 王 鳳 (1773-1841). Pan Shih-shan's biography is found in *Chung shih tzu 307* 307-3b-2a and that of Wang Tung is also in *Chung shih tzu 307* 3a-7a.

In the year 1844, he was promoted to become Lieutenant-Governor or Financial Commissioner 布政使⁹ of Kweichow, a position which he held until further promotion four years later to the office of Governor of the same province⁹. While holding these posts he came into close contact with the Miao-Man peoples.

Lo Jao-tien performed valuable services in Kweichow, a province which by reason of its poverty and limited production frequently had to rely upon the subsidies of adjoining regions. As Financial Commissioner he instituted economies, reformed the regulations of the salt shops and straightened out the provincial accounts. He increased the provincial funds by 300,000 taels and purchased 50,000 piculs of rice as safeguard against famine.

He also took measures to improve military equipment and administration. He appointed Hu Lin-i 胡林翼 (1812-1861)¹⁰ to garrison the prefecture of Chên-yuan in eastern Kweichow and Hsu Hsing-yu 徐興燾 to garrison the sub-prefecture of Huang-p'ing 黃平, to the west of Chên-yuan. Under his administration, militia were enlisted and the allowances of the soldiers were paid. A campaign against bandits, undertaken at his order, forced the Miao rebels of southern Kweichow into hiding. In 1848, as Governor, Lo Jao-tien sent dispatches to all stations within the province ordering the renovation of cannon and military equipment.

In 1849, he was appointed Governor of Hupei, but due to the death of his father he retired for the three years' mourning period.

In 1852, he was commissioned to supervise defenses on the border between Hunan and Kwangsi, a region which was then the object of

⁹ Cf H S BRUNNERT and V V HAGELSTROM 403 "布政使 Pu Cheng Shih Lieutenant-Governor or Financial Commissioner (commonly called Treasurer) official designation, 藩司 Fan Ssu colloquially called 藩臺 Fan T'ai, epistolary designation, 方伯 Fang Po, 大藩侯 Ta Fan Hou, 大方岳 Ta Fang Yueh, and 大甸宣 Ta Hsu Hsuan." In general, there was one Lieutenant-Governor for each of the provinces. He was the head of the civil service and was also treasurer of the provincial exchequer. In case of the absence of the Governor 巡撫, he took over the provincial administration. Cf *Kuei-yang fu chih*, 1850, 3 19a in which, in 1845, Lo Jao-tien as Lieutenant Governor is stated to have taken the place of the Provincial Governor while the latter was absent.

¹⁰ The dates of Lo Jao-tien's posts in Kweichow are found in *Ch'ing shih kao* 206 2b-4b, 209 40a b and *Kuei-yang fu chih* 9 31a as well as in the biographies mentioned in note 2 above.

¹¹ Later he became a general famed for his campaigns against the T'ai p'ing rebels. Cf his biography in *Ch'ing shih kao* 412 5b-11a and *Kuo-ch'ao hnen-ch'eng shih-lueh*, 1866, 26 35a-46a 國朝先正事略, 循陔草堂 4d.

attack by the T'ai p'ing rebels. Later in the same year, fighting several severe engagements, he successfully held Ch'ang sha for several months and was promoted Governor General of Yunnan and Kweichow 雲貴總督. Before assuming office, he directed a successful campaign against some local bandits of the prefecture of Hsiang yang 襄陽 in northern Hupei who had adhered to the insurrectionists.

At this time, there was a rebellion in Yunnan by Mohammedans associated with the Miao of Kweichow.¹¹ Lo Jao tien, taking up his post as Governor General of Yunnan and Kweichow in 1853, successfully put down the rebels and also routed a group of bandits from Kwangsi, thus pacifying the region.

The next year, a certain bandit chieftain Yang Lung hsi 陽隆喜 plundered the districts of T'ung tzū 桐梓 and Jen huai 仁懷 and encircled the prefecture of Tsun 遵義.¹² The Governor and the Commander in Chief 提督 of Kweichow gathered 20,000 soldiers but could make no headway against him. Lo Jao-tien, commanding 1500 soldiers whom he had trained himself, attacked the bandits and drove them to their original camp in Mt. Lei t'ai 雷臺. While reconnoitering the environs of this camp, he suddenly lost his footing and suffered a severe fall. He died the same night, the twenty third of December, 1854, at the age of sixty two.

The Imperial rescript issued on the occasion of his death reads

"Governor General of Yunnan and Kweichow, Lo Jao-tien, beginning with a position in the National Academy, held provincial posts in the prefectures and circuits and was continuously promoted in the Imperial service. The year before last, when the rebellious robbers created disturbances in Ch'ang sha, I especially ordered him to go swiftly to Hunan to assist in the management of bandit suppression. Afterwards while stationed at Hsiang yang, he suppressed the bandits and adjusted all things well. Because of his years of service in filling various posts and his sincerity in carrying out his duties, I especially commissioned him Governor General of Yunnan and Kweichow. At the very time when I relied on him fully, there came to pass the disturbances of the Kweichow robbers and he led his soldiers forward to suppress them. Just when there was hope that the brigands would be destroyed and the Miao dominions pacified, I have suddenly heard

¹¹ Cf. Hsiao I-shan *Ch'ing tai tung-shih* 192-193: 3 462-3.

¹² For the location of these regions see notes 20, 47 and 121 in Chapter 2.

of his death, and I deeply mourn his loss. Let my grace be bestowed and the relieving grants given in accordance with the regulations regarding the death of Governors-General in army service. All the business of his office should be listed and reported. As to the grants which should be made, the yamen should refer to the regulations and make the report. Let his sons, Lo Tao 譚 and Lo Hsun 勳, Prefects by purchase, come, after their mourning, to the Ministry of Revenue and be led to audience with me. His eldest grandson, Lo Ch'ing shih 清澍 is rewarded by the gift of the degree of Provincial Graduate 賞給舉人 and is eligible for the Metropolitan Examination 會試 with all others. By this, I show my deepest sympathy toward the loyal official" ¹³

The emperor personally gave orders for his funeral and posthumously awarded him the rank of Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent 太子少保 and the title of Wen hsi 文愷. The emperor also approved a request by the people of Tsun i, Kweichow, for permission to establish a memorial temple.

The successful administration and military career of Lo Jao-tien is evidence not only of his practical ability but also of his intelligence. His early years in Hunan and his later posts in Kweichow, Szechwan and Yunnan provided him with ample opportunity for observation of the Miao-Man peoples of those regions. His interest in these peoples was heightened by the requirements of his official positions and though he was at times compelled to exert military force against them, he was convinced that the wisest Chinese policy should follow the line of cultural pacification ¹⁴. His description of the Miao-Man peoples of Kweichow is therefore based upon intelligent and sympathetic personal observation.

Lo Jao-tien's account of the Miao-Man peoples *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi lueh*, although prefaced by the author in 1847, was not published until 1905 ¹⁵. YÜAN K'ai ti states in the colophon:

"The above *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi lueh*, nine chapters in all, was compiled by Lo Jao-tien who was formerly, at the end of the Tao-kuang era, Lieutenant Governor of Kweichow. In it

¹³ Cf. *Ch'ing shih lich chuan* 42 18b.

¹⁴ Cf. *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh* Preface 3a-4a.

¹⁵ Cf. colophon written by YÜAN K'ai-ti 袁開第 for *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*. YÜAN K'ai-ti's biography is found in *Ta-Ch'ing ch'iu-fu kuan-chi chuan* 33 9a-13a 人清 袁特先哲傳, 天津徐氏 刻.

there is a complete account of the establishment, name-changes, and geographical situation of the prefectures, sub-prefectures, departments and districts of a whole province, as well as of the duties of the native chieftains,¹⁶ and of the groups and origins of the Miao-Man peoples. Moreover, it describes in special detail whether or not these non-Chinese have holdings, and the numbers of Miao house-holders. It makes more apparent the great pains with which our Imperial court bestows grace upon the Miao peoples and takes measures to prevent disturbances. The officials, taking care to abide by [this policy], should treat [these peoples] kindly.

"The printing blocks of the book were preserved for many years in the office of the Lieutenant-Governor. When I first assumed my post, I saw these blocks piled up in discard in a corner of the hall. On cursory inspection I found them mixed up and confused; many were incomplete. Therefore, I commanded clerks to arrange them in proper order, compare them, and restore them to their original form. Then I printed a hundred and some tens of copies for distribution to various sections in order that all might examine them. . . ."

Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh consists largely of materials collected by Sung-man-shih 嵩曼士¹⁷ (died 1846), Provincial Governor of Kweichow 1825-1831. Lo Jao-tien who compiled and added to these materials states in his preface 4a-b

"At the beginning of the reign of our Emperor [Tao-kuang], Mr. Sung-man-shih, a native of Ch'ang-pai¹⁸ 長白 and Governor

¹⁶ The native chieftains or T'u-szu 土司 were officers instituted especially for the regulation of the non Chinese peoples Cf H S BRUNNEN and V. V. HAGELSTROM 438 For further material on the native chieftains, cf MAO Ch'ing (1623-1716). *Man-szu ho-chih* Lo Jao-tien devotes Chapters 7 and 8 of *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh* to accounts of the native chieftains in Kweichow

¹⁷ Sung man-shih is undoubtedly another name for Sung p'u 嵩溥 whose family name was I ERH KEN-CHÜEH LO 伊爾根覺羅 Cf his biography in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'ien-hsien lei-cheng ch'u pien*, 1890, 325 1a-4b 國朝名獻類徵初編, 湘陰李氏版. Lo Jao-tien's statements about Sung man shih in *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*, preface 4a, accord with statements in the biography of Sung-p'u Moreover, his accounts of Sung p'u's position in Kweichow and his administrative deeds as found in *Kuei-yang-su chih* 3 16b-17a, 9 28a 29a, 68 9b-10a confirm the identity of Sung man-shih and Sung p'u

¹⁸ A prefecture in eastern Fêngtien, now Liaoning Province

中丞¹⁹ of Kweichow, having memorialized the emperor to ask permission to make a census of the non-Chinese peoples of the entire province, prepared complete records. I had been here in Kweichow as Lieutenant-Governor, I suppose, for three years, when one day I found and read records which had been stored by the former official. I saw that examples were sought therein from ancient times and investigations were pursued up to the present. There was a fully complete account. Accordingly, [4b] I revised them and composed this book. However, the records on Tsun-i, Ssü-chou 思州,²⁰ and Jên-huai²¹ were missing. Probably the office clerks had lost these volumes. And so I searched through the gazetteers of the prefectures and sub-prefectures in order to make up what had been lost. In the last portion of the book, I embellished it with the materials on the native chieftains and the Miao-Man peoples."

Lo Jao-tien patterned his compilation *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lüeh* after *Ch'ien-nan chih-lüeh*, a book written by Ai-pi-ta 愛必達 (died 1761),²² which Lo Jao-tien published in 1847. In recommending *Ch'ien-nan chih-lüeh*, Lo Jao-tien stated. "This book is not only a gazetteer but also makes many additions and corrections, and is really an indispensable work on Kweichow. In the summer of the twenty-seventh year of the Tao-kuang era (1847), I obtained the manuscripts from the family of a literary man, and then sent them to the publisher."²³

Possible sources for the closing chapter of *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lüeh*, in which Lo Jao-tien discusses the Miao-Man peoples, include

¹⁹ Cf. H. S. BRUNNERT and V. V. HAGELSTROM 400 in which Chung Ch'eng 中丞 is the epistolary style denoting Provincial Governor.

²⁰ A prefecture, now Ts'ien kung Hsien 岑蒙 in eastern Kweichow.

²¹ Here refers to the independent sub-prefecture of Jen huai, now Ch'ih-shui Hsien 赤水 in N W Kweichow. Cf. *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lüeh* 4 11a-13a. For the meaning of the term independent sub-prefecture, see note 116 in Chapter 2. It should be distinguished from the district of Jen-huai; see Chapter 2 note 121.

²² His family name was NIU 鈕 and his biography is found in *Kuo-ch'ao ch'i hsien lei-ch'eng ch'u-pien* 179 8a 17a. Cf. also *Kuo yang fu chih* 3 3b 9 15b, 66 1a-2a. The materials of *Ch'ien-nan chih-lüeh* were revised by CHANG Fung-sun 張鳳孫 under the direction of Ai-pi-ta and some material which was added later is stated by Lo Jao-tien to have been probably the work of Li Wen-k'eng 李文耕 (1762-1839). Cf. *Ch'ien-nan chih-lüeh*, Lo Jao-tien's preface 6b.

²³ Cf. *Ch'ien-nan chih-lüeh*, Lo Jao-tien's preface 7a.

many dynastic histories and encyclopaedias.²⁴ In these, however, attention was centered not so much on descriptions of the peoples as on Chinese relations with them. A few private writers in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) described the aboriginal customs, but for the most part there was little descriptive material until the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912). The following works, arranged in chronological order, deserve special mention as works which Lo Jao-tien might have used as sources:

CH'ANG Chü, *Hua-yang kuo chih* [the material covers up to 289 A. D.—preface].²⁵

FAN Ch'ö (fl. 860), *Man shu*.

YANG Shên (1488-1559), *Nan-chao yeh-shih*,²⁶ 1550.

T'ïEN Ju-ch'êng, *Yen-chiao chi-wên*, 1558.

WANG Shih-hsing (Chin-shih degree 1573-1620), *Ch'ien chih*.

MAO Ch'ï-ling (1623-1716), *Man-ssü ho-chih*.

LU Tz'ü-yun (fl. 1680), *T'ung-ch'ï hsien-chih*.

T'ïEN Wên (1635-1704), *Ch'ien shu*, 1690.

Ch'ien Miao t'u shuo (ca. 1730) 黔苗圖說.²⁷

Kuei-chou t'ung-chih, 1741.

Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih, 1744.

Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u, 1751-1773.

²⁴ In dynastic histories, the most important records in regard to the southern non-Chinese peoples are *Shih chi* 116, *Ch'ien-Han shu* 95, translated into English by A. WYLIE, *History of the Southwestern Barbarians and Chao-seen*, *JAI*, 1880, 9 53-96; *Hou-Han shu* 116, *Wei shu* 101, *Sui shu* 82, *Chiu T'ang shu* 197, *T'ang shu* 222, *Sung shih* 493-6 and *Ming shih* 316. In the encyclopedias, the following records should be mentioned Tu Yu (735-812), *T'ung tien* 187 8, CH'ENG Ch'iao (1104-1162), *T'ung chih* 107-8, MA Tuan-lin (fl. close of the Sung and beginning of the Yuan dynasty), *Wên-hsien t'ung kao* 328-30, translated by Marquis M. J. L. d'HERVEY DE St-DENYS into French, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine (Meridionaux)*, Genève, 1883, and *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'êng*, 1725, 1521-1544.

²⁵ Lo Jao-tien's compilation of *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lüeh* was much influenced by *Hua-yang kuo chih*. Cf his preface 2a "When CH'ANG Tao-chuang (Ch'ang Chü) composed his *Hua-yang kuo chih*, under each prefecture and district, he recorded the great families and the groups of barbarians 蠻夷. Certainly when the former kings regulated the territory and settled the residences of the people, both the towns of the territory and the residences of the people had to be secured. Therefore, the books which deal with geography must also record both the land and the people."

²⁶ It has been translated into French by Camille SAINSON, *Nan-Tchao Yeh-shih* [*Nan-chao yeh shih*] *Histoire particulière du Nan-Tchao*, Paris, 1901. It was reviewed by Paul PELLIER in *BEFEO* 4 1094-1127.

²⁷ See Chapter 2, note 24.

T'AN Ts'ui (Chin shih degree 1736-1795), *Shuo man*
 Li Tsung fang (1778 1846) *Ch'ien chi*,²⁸ 1834

The first portion of Lo Jao-tien's chapter on the Miao Man peoples deals with their history and derivation and is of importance as suggesting a classification by main divisions.²⁹ This introduction also appears in *Kuei yang fu chih*,³⁰ a fact which raises the question of authorship. Comparative dates of compilation and publication provide little aid in solving the problem. The compilation of *Kuei yang fu chih* was begun in 1842,³¹ the official date of printing was 1850, and the last preface was dated 1852.³² Although *Kuei yang fu chih* contains material dealing with events as late as 1849,³³ this alone does not rule out the possibility that the passage in question might have been in manuscript before Lo Jao tien completed *Ch'ien nan chih fang chih lueh* in 1847.³⁴ Nor does the fact that the passage appears in *Kuei yang fu chih* 88 necessarily indicate that it was incorporated in that compilation at a late date. Comparison of the two texts, however, reveals certain minor discrepancies which tend to show that the introduction as it appears in *Kuei yang fu chih* was copied from the passage which appears in Lo Jao tien's work. The compilers of *Kuei yang fu chih* limited their attention to the prefecture of Kuei yang 貴陽, and certain references to groups of the Miao-Man peoples which were not found in that prefecture are omitted in *Kuei yang fu chih* but appear in Lo Jao tien's text.³⁵ Yet in some cases where groups mentioned were of no concern to Kuei yang, but where omission would be difficult without distortion of the context, *Kuei yang fu chih* retains the material as it appears in *Ch'ien nan chih fang chih lueh*.³⁶

²⁸ Another book called *Ch'ien chi* consisting of sixty chapters compiled in 1603 by Huo Tzu-chang 郭子章 is mentioned in *Ch'ien-nan chih-lueh* 2b [Preface] and *Kuei yang fu chih* 50 5b-7b. This book is not in any of the libraries to which I have had access.

³⁶ Cf. 83 17a 18b

²⁹ See note 62 Chapter 2 and Appendix A

³⁰ Cf. Chu Tso-i 刁作謙 preface 2a.

³¹ Cf. WENG Tung-shu 翁同龢 preface 2b

³² Cf. 10 36b

³³ Cf. *Ch'ien-nan chih fang chih-lueh* preface 4b

³⁴ Cf. our text 1a-4a and *Kuei yang fu chih* 83 17a 19b. The groups of the Lo-kuei 羅鬼 I tsü 羅子 Yao-chia 姚家 Tung-chia 董家 and all the sub-groups in our text 3a are omitted.

³⁵ Cf. *Kuei yang fu chih* 83 18b where the Tung [Eastern] Miao, Hsi [Western] Miao Hung [Red] Miao and Pai [White] Lo-lo 白羅羅 are retained but these groups are not found in *Kuei yang fu chih* 83 19b

From the statement of YUAN K'ai-ti, the publisher of *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*, that the printing blocks of that work were stored in the office of the Lieutenant-Governor in Kuei-yang, it is evident that the compilers of *Kuei-yang-fu chih* must have had access to Lo Jao-tien's materials.³⁷ Moreover, Lo Jao-tien is listed among the supervisors of the board of editors of *Kuei-yang-fu chih* and, incidentally, is designated Governor of Hupei, a post which he did not assume until 1849, two years after the date of the preface to *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*.³⁸ In addition, the compilers of *Kuei-yang-fu chih* make specific mention of using materials collected by Sung-p'u [Sung-man shih]³⁹—materials which Lo Jao-tien states that he discovered in the office at Kuei-yang.⁴⁰

The evidence tends to indicate that the first portion of Lo Jao-tien's chapter on the Miao-Man peoples was copied by rather than from *Kuei-yang-fu chih*. There seems no reason to doubt Lo Jao-tien's statement that this chapter was his own work, particularly since he is eminently frank in giving Sung-man-shih credit for the major part of the materials which he used in *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*.⁴¹

CHAPTER 2

An Annotated Translation of the Miao-Man Section of the *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*

In ancient times, Emperor Yen 炎 married the daughter of Ch'ih-shui 赤水, T'ing-yao 聽詒, who gave birth to a son, Yen-chu 炎居.¹ This Ch'ih-shui is the Hung-shui of [the region of] Lo-hu 羅斛 紅水江.² Of old, Kweichow was ever a state of [good] reputation and

³⁷ Cf. *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*, YUAN K'ai ti's colophon 1a

³⁸ Cf. *Kuei-yang-fu chih*, Table of supervisors 1a

³⁹ Cf. *op cit*, 88 10a

⁴⁰ Cf. *Ch'ien-nan chih-fang chi-lueh*, preface 4a

⁴¹ Cf. *op cit*, preface 4a b

¹ Cf. Lo Pi, *Lu shih*, (*hou-chi*), prefaced 1170, 4 2b, Ssü pu pei-yao ed 羅泌, 路史, 後紀, 四部備要 where Chinese tradition has it that Yen-chü was the tenth emperor of the imperial family of Shen nung. He was the son of Yen li 炎帝, the ninth emperor, whose wife was T'ing yao, the daughter of the family of Sang-shui.

² Both Ch'ih shui and Hung shui mean "Red River." There are two rivers which have this same name. The one taking its origin in NW Kweichow flows through Ch'ih-shui Hsien northward into the province of Szechwan and joins the Yangtze River. The other, the river mentioned in our text, is situated in the south of Kweichow and flows through the region of Lo-hu, now called Lo-tien 羅甸, southward into the province of Kwangsi.

[high] civilization; therefore, its chief became connected by marriage with the imperial family.

When Ch'ih-yu 蚩尤⁵ supplanted Emperor Yen as ruler, he was avaricious, liked killing, and was shameless in committing adultery. Among the people these [vices] became current. Thereupon, there arose the practices of "the Moon Dance 跳月"⁶ and of plundering. This is why the *Shu-ching* states, "Disorder spread among the common people, all of whom became robbers and bandits. They conducted themselves like owls and traitorous villains. [They carried on] seizures, robbery, deception and looting."⁷

During the decline [of the reign] of Kao-hsin 高辛, a certain San-Miao 三苗 chieftain,⁸ seizing the region between [the lakes] Tung-t'ing 洞庭 and P'êng-li 彭蠡,⁹ established a state. He, in turn, followed the governing policy of Ch'ih-yu, liked imprecation and believed in ghosts. His influence and power extended to the present provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechwan and Kwangtung, and all the people [of those places] followed his customs [1b]. Thereupon this state of [good] reputation and [high] civilization became barbarous 獫狁 in customs, from this fact the name "Miao" arose.

When Emperor Yao 堯 succeeded Kao-hsin as the Son of Heaven, he commissioned Chung 重 and Li 黎¹⁰ to attack the San-Miao, and they subdued them. Afterwards, they rebelled again.

When Emperor Shun was regent, he commissioned Yü to conquer and exterminate them [i. e. the San-Miao]. [Yü] drove their chieftain into San-wei 三危¹¹ and kept him there. Then the region between [the lakes] Tung-t'ing and P'êng-li was included in the Central King-

⁵ Ch'ih-yu is the legendary figure who produced disorder in ancient China. The story of the Yellow Emperor's victory over Ch'ih-yu is found in *Shih chi* Édouard CHAVANES 1 27-9

⁶ See Notes 77, 133, 144, and Appendix B

⁷ Cf. *Shu-ching*, (*lu-hsing*) James LEONG 3 590-1

⁸ The term "San-Miao" or "Miao" is mentioned many times in *Shu-ching*

⁹ The location of San-Miao in the region between the lakes Tung-t'ing and P'êng-li is mentioned in *Chan-kuo ts'ü* 22 2b and *Shih chi* 63 5b [For dynastic histories I use the Tung-wên shu-chü ed.] Cf. also CHAVANES 1 67, note 2 Lake Tung-t'ing is in the province of Hunan and Lake P'êng-li, now called Po-yang 鄱陽, in the province of Kiangsi. For details, cf. CH'EN Mu *YCHP* 12 (1932) 2175-97

¹⁰ Chung and Li were two ministers. Both are mentioned in *Shu-ching*, (*lu-hsing*) J. LEONG 3 593, note 6 Cf. also CHAVANES 1 43 note 6

¹¹ San-wei was a mountain, the location of which is still a matter of dispute. Cf. the discussion in *The Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Geographical Terms*, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1931 古今地名大辭典

dom Those of their people who remained north of the Chih shui had already long been under the influence of the San Miao and could not be won over Emperor Shun, hating them, put them under barbarous 荒 dominion Therefore, the *Shu ching* states "The San Miao were set apart and discriminated against" ¹⁰

During the reign of King Hsi 僖王 (681 677 B C) ¹¹ of the Chou dynasty (1122 256 B C), a certain kingdom by the name of Tsang ko 牂柯, ¹² fearing the power of Duke Huan of Ch 齊桓公, sent envoys to pay tribute to the Son of Heaven ¹³ [The ruler of this kingdom] was also a Miao chieftain

At the time of the Warring States (481 221 B C), Chuang Chiao 莊矯, ¹⁴ a general of Ch u 楚, destroyed Tsang ko By this time, the Marquis of Ts'ai 蔡侯 had long been overthrown by [the principality of] Ch'u, and his noble clan was then transported to Tsang ko From this time on there were among the Miao people the Ts'ai chia tzu [i e, descendants of the Ts'ai family]

Emperor Wu 武帝 (140 87 B C) of the Han dynasty (206 B C 220 A D) overthrew [the state of] Chu lan 且蘭 ¹⁵ and established the prefecture ¹⁶ of Tsang ko He transported four great families of Szechwan the Lung 龍, Fu 傅, Tung 董, and Yin 尹, ¹⁷ to that region From this time on there were among the Miao people the Lung chia tzu [i e descendants of the Lung family]

When Marquis Wu 武侯 [CHU KO LIANG 諸葛亮] (181 234 A D) pacified the states of the South he commanded all [2a] the heads of the great families to lead their own companies Lo Chi huo 羅濟火 ¹⁸ of a great family of Chien ning 建甯, ¹⁹ had his company in the

¹⁰ Cf *Shu-ching* (shun tien) J LEGGE 3 50

¹¹ For dates I follow Pere P HOANG *Concordance des chronologies néoméniques chinoise et européenne* Shanghai 1910

¹² Tsang ko was to the west of Te-ch'ang Hsien 德江 in NE Kweichow

¹³ The story is related in *Kuan t'u* 8 20a

¹⁴ The story of CHUANG Chao's conquering of Tsang ko is found in *Shih chi* 116 2a b and *Chien Han shu* 95 1a 2a A WYLIE *JAI* 9 (1880) 56 Cf also *Hua yang kuo chih* 4 1a

¹⁵ Cf *Shih chi* 116 4b-5a Chu lan was the present P'ing yueh Hsien 平越 in central Kweichow

¹⁶ The prefecture or chün 郡 was a territorial division corresponding approximately to fu 府 or the prefecture of the Ching dynasty (1644 1912) G M H PLATFAIR uses the term "prefecture" to denote both chün and fu

¹⁷ On these four families cf *Hua yang kuo chih* 4 10a and *Hou Han shu* 116 15a

¹⁸ There have been several changes in the name of Lo Chi huo T'ien Ju-ch'eng in his *len-chiao chi wen* 1553 4 17a states During the time of Shu Han (221 264)

region between Tsang-ko and Yeh-lang 夜郎²⁰ This group was called by the name of Lo tien 羅甸²¹

a certain Huo Chi 火濟 who followed Prime Minister Liang [Chu ko Liang] and succeeded in conquering Meng Huo 孟獲, was appointed king of Lo tien 羅甸 He was a distant ancestor of An 安, the present chief of the district This statement is modified by Wang Shih hsing [Chih-shih degree 1573 16³⁰] in his *Chien chih* 1 a "Since Shu Han when a certain barbarian chieftain called Huo Chi—who had done good service in following Chu ko Marquis Wu for the conquest of Meng Huo—was appointed the king of Lo-tien his descendants lost neither appointment nor territory throughout Tang (618-907) and Sung (960-1279) The same story is repeated by different authors such as Mao Ch'ing [16³³ 1716] in his *Man-shu ho-chih* 2 1a Lu Tz'ü yun [fl 1680] *Tung ch'ü hien-chih* 1 5a and Wang Hung hsu [1645 1723] *Ming shih lao* 190 2a T'ien Wen [1635 1704] changed the name Huo Chi into Chi Huo to accord with native usage as stated in his *Chien shu* 3 10a He says

Chi Huo a Hei [Black] Lu lu 盧鹿, was a distant ancestor of the family An of Shui hsi 水西 [now Chien hsi Hsien 黔西 in western Kweichow] He had sunken eyes great stature a bestial face and white teeth Using blue cloth he wrapped his hair in the shape of a horn He practised fighting and war esteemed fidelity and righteousness and excelled in keeping his group in submission The Man supported him On hearing of the southern conquests of Chu ko Marquis Wu Chi Huo accumulated supplies and opened communications in order to welcome the soldiers Then he assisted Marquis Wu in destroying the southern barbarians and in capturing Meng Huo and was appointed king of Lo-tien Since then the name Chi Huo has been adopted and his story popularized in official records such as Yuan shih lei pien 1759 4^o 65b *Ming shih* 316 3a *Kuei chou tung-chih* 7 22b-23a *Ta Ching : tung chih* 3^o 14b and *Huang Ching chih kung tu* 8 54a *An-shun fu chih* 1851 22 5b 17b-18b gives a more detailed account However in one section of *Kuei-chou tung chih* 20 23a the name is given as Chi Chi huo 濟濟火 a designation which also appears in *Ta Ching : tung chih* 340 22b and in *Chang Shu Hsu Chien shu* 1804 3 7b T'ang Tsai fu TP 6 (1905) 595 note 1 suggests that Chi Chi huo is Han Chi huo or Chi huo of the Han dynasty His work is translated from Ch'ien Ting (born 1651) *T'ien Chien tu-shu kun li chi* 1a TP 6 587 which gives the name as An Chi huo 安氏濟火 Cf Feng Han yi and J K SERRYOCK HJAS 3 (1938) 108 note 20 In our text the author retains the designation Chi huo but adding the group name Lo as the surname uses the name Lo Chi huo Cf also *Kuei-yu fu chih* 88 18a

¹⁹ Cf *Hua-yang kuo chih* 4 5a 11b Chien ning was then a prefecture or chun fifteen li to the west of Chu ching Hsien 曲靖 in NE Yunnan

²⁰ Yeh lang was then a district twenty li to the east of Tung tzu Hsien 桐梓 in northern Kweichow *Hou Han shu* 116 14a gives a legend which describes an ancestor of the Miao as originating in the region of Yeh lang See note 78

²¹ Lo tien the name of a kingdom see note 18 should be distinguished from the present district name Lo-tien mentioned in note 2 Cf *T'ang shu* 222A 22a where a chieftain named A Pei 阿佩 was appointed king of Lo tien during the era Hui-chung (841 846) Marquis M J L d'HERVÉ DE ST DENYS 2 89 note 24 states 羅殿 (841 846) Marquis M J L d'HERVÉ DE ST DENYS 2 89 note 24 states 羅殿 Vraisemblablement le même nom de pays écrit 羅甸 Lo-tien dans les annales des Tang (T'ang) et des guant une principauté autrefois située dans le Kouen tcheou [Kweichow]

At the close of the Sui (581-618 A.D.) and the beginning of the Tang dynasty, the capable leaders among the Man people were advanced to the status of Kuei chu 鬼主.²² The Lo-tien people then called the Kwei chu of the Lo family²³ by the abbreviated term of Lo kwei 羅鬼.²⁴ This term was erroneously transformed into Lu lu 鹿盧² and later again into Lo lo²⁶

actuel a l'est de Kouei yang [Kue yang] laquelle s'étendait peut-être jusqu'à la région orientale du Kouei tcheou encore occupée de nos jours par les tribus indépendantes des Miao-tse [Miao-tzu]. For a brief history of Lo-tien cf. *Hsu Chien shu* 3 7b-8b

²² Kuei-chu is a term designating the chief who headed the ceremonies in sacrificing to ghosts. Cf. *T'ang shu* 220C 18b. The barbarians 夷 esteem ghosts. They call the chief of the sacrifice Kuei chu. Every year each household offers a bull or a goat, and a sacrifice is held in the family of the chief. Whenever ghosts are sent away or received it is necessary to accompany them with soldiers. When a chief headed only a hundred families he was called the small Kuei-chu but a bigger group had a great Kuei-chu. Cf. *T'ang shu* 222C 20a.

²³ Cf. *Sung shih* 496 91b 95a.

²⁴ Cf. *Yen chiao chi wen* 4 17a. The Lo lo custom is to esteem ghosts therefore they are called Lo kuei or Lo ghosts. *Chien shu Kuei-chou tung chih Ta Ching* : *tung chih* and *Huang Ching chih kung tu* repeat the same statement. The term Lo-kuei is variously rendered by the translators of *Chien Miao tu shuo* the manuscript albums by CH'EN Hao 陳浩, an official of Kwei chow cf. Li Tsung-fang [1778-1816] *Chien chi* 1834 3 4b. One translator E. C. BRIDGMAN *JNCHRAS* 1 (1890) 972 has the term "Dragons of Lo" instead of Lo-ghosts while another George W. CLARK *A Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chow Mao-tzu* [Appendix to Arnold R. COLQUHOUN *Across Chrysé* 2 363] renders the name "The Devils Net." A third translator CHU Chang-kong *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde* 18 (1937) 9 correctly follows the early records stating: "Was ihre [Lo-lo] Sitten betrifft so erweisen sie den Geistern Verehrung und werden deshalb auch Lo-kuei genannt." For a summary of Western translations from Mao Albums cf. F. JAEGER, *OZ* 4 (1916) 206-83.

²⁵ The term Lu lu should be written 鹿盧 not 鹿盧 cf. *T'ang shu* 220C 20a where the Lu lu are mentioned as a division of the Eastern Tsuan 獫狁 or Pai [White] Man. Later Lo-lu was corrupted into Lo-lo. Cf. YANG Shên (1488-1539) *Nan-chao yeh-shih* 2 46. Camille SAINSON 161 "Kouo-lo [Lo-lo] sont les barbares Tsouan descendants de Lou-lou. C'est de ce dernier nom que par corruption est venu le mot Kouo-lo." Cf. also G. DEVLIN *La frontière sino-annamite* 142. The term Lo-lo-asu 羅羅斯 or Lo-lo frequently occurs in *Yuan shih* 61 1b 15a 16b 17a 20b and in *Yuan shih* 218 80. *Yuan shih lei pien* 1 10a gives the explanation that Lo-lo-asu was originally Lu lu which was by corruption transformed into Lo-lo. Thus Lu lu, Lo-lo-asu and Lo-lo are merely different terms indicating the same group of people. It is very probable that the form Lo-lo-asu is a Mongolian plural. Furthermore the character Tsuan is often used to denote the Lo-lo. Cf. G. SOULIÉ et CHANG I-shu *BEFFO* 8 334 note 2. "Ce mot le Tsouan paraît ignoré des tribus Lolo actuelles."

²⁶ The term Lo-lo has been written in different ways, i.e., 猓猓, 猓猓, 猓猓,

Among the great families there was the family Sung 宋, the subdivisions of which then took the surname of their chieftain to designate their subdivisions. From this time on there were among the Miao people the Sung chia-tzū [i. e. descendants of the Sung family]

During the Chin dynasty (265-420 A. D.) in the region between Chiung 邛 and Tsê 笮,²⁷ there were the Shan [Mountain] Lao 山獠²⁸ who are probably to be identified with the Mao-jên 毛人²⁹ of the time of King Wu (1122-1114 B. C.). This type of people was spread over the present provinces of Kweichow and Kwangtung. The [other] groups³⁰ of the Man people generally enslaved the Shan Lao and accordingly called this enslaved group by the name of P'u [Slave] Lao 僕獠.³¹ The other Lao people were called Chu [Master] Lao 主獠

獠, 羅, 羅, 保羅, 羅羅. The early sinologists usually transcribed 獠 as Kuo-lo, but the character 獠 should be pronounced lo. Cf. G. DEVERIA, *La frontière sino-annamite* 141 2, Paul PELLIER, *BEFEO* 4 1118 and A. VISSIERE, *JA* 3 (1914) 178-81. For further discussion of the term Lo-lo cf. Henry CORDIER, *TP* 8 (1907) 622 6, Alfred LIÉTARD 22-7, Samuel R. CLARKE 112-4, YOUNG Chung-chi, *L'écriture et les manuscrits* 105-13, and YANG Ch'eng-chi (YOUNG Chung-chi), *I un nan min tsu** 23-6

²⁷ Chiung and Tsê were originally two ancient kingdoms. Cf. SHIAH chi 116 1a. *Ch'ien-Han shu* 95 1a and MA Tuan-lin, *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 329 8a-9b, Marquis M. J. L. d'HERVEY DE ST-DENTS 2 156-63. Chiung became a district under Han and was SE of Shih-ch'ang Hsien 世昌 in SW Szechwan. Tsê, also written 作, was a prefecture under Han and was SE of Han yuan Hsien 漢源 in western Szechwan.

²⁸ The character 獠 is pronounced Lao, not Liao. Cf. G. DEVERIA, *La frontière sino-annamite* 114, note 1. "Le caractère 獠 se prononce Leao et nous préférons la seconde de ces prononciations parce que le texte chinois lui donne comme homophone le caractère 老 qui ne se prononce que Lao." Paul PELLIER, basing his argument upon *P'ei wên yün fu* 佩文韻府 says "Le caractère 獠 est ici l'équivalent du caractère 獠 Lao et ne doit donc pas se lire ici Leao" (*BEFEO* 4 136, note 2).

As a group designation Lao appears first in *Hua-yang kuo chih* 4 15b-16a and *Hou Han shu* 116 14b. The earliest detailed description of the people occurs in *Wei shu* 101 23b-25a. They are usually called Shan [Mountain] Lao because they lived in mountains and forests. Cf. *T'ang shu* 222C 30b and FAN Cheng-ta [1126-1193] *K'uei hsia yü heng-chih* 34a.

²⁹ 髦 is another form of the character Mao 茅. This group is mentioned in *Shu-ching*, (*mu-shih*) J. LEGGE 3 301.

³⁰ The word 種 is here translated as group not stock after consultation with Dr. E. H. D. Chapple of the Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, because our author divides the Miao-Man peoples into groups according to their social customs rather than their racial types.

³¹ Cf. *Chou shu* 49 9a. People often enslaved the Lao and called them Ya Lao 壓獠 which also means Slave Lao. Cf. *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 328 29a. Marquis M. J. L. d'HERVEY DE ST-DENTS 2 111. "Les Leao [Lao] méles à la population chinoise payaient sans difficulté des impôts considérables; mais leur nature étant turbulente, ils causaient

Afterwards the term Lao was erroneously transformed into Ko lao 獠³² and that of Pu Lao into Mu lao 獠³³

In the second year of the Chen Kuan era (628 A D) of the Tang dynasty, the Shan Lao of Ming Chou 明州³⁴ rebelled Li Tao yen 李道彦, Governor of Chiao Chou 交州,³⁵ attacked them and put them

parfois de lagitation Chaque annee les stations militaires recevaient lordre de faire des expeditions contre ceux qui habitaient les contrees environnantes Un grand nombre dentre eux devenaient esclaves et lon donnait aux captifs vendus le nom de Ya leao (Leao asservis) Il y avait meme des negociants voyageurs dont lunique commerce etait dacheter et de revendre ces prisonniers De grands personnages possedaient jusquà mille Leao esclaves il netait pas jusquaux gens du peuple qui nen achetassent a bas prix

³² Ko-lao is another name for Chi-lao 獠 Cf Chef de Bataillon BONIFACE BEFEO 5 307 note 1 Les Lao sont appeles suivant les pays T'ou-lao Ké-lao [Ko-lao] dans leur langue ils sappellent Thu et malgre leur petit nombre se divisent en tribus qui sont dans le cercle de Bao-lac et la partie voisine du Yunnan les Ke-lao blancs (Thu lua) les Ke-lao bleus (co-thu) les Ke-lao rouges (Thu lo-plang tai) les Ke-lao batteurs de fer (Puo-ca yó) Ils sont appeles Kú [Chi] par les Meo [Miao] T'AN Tsui in his *Shuo man* 6b states 'Chi-lao another term for Ko-lao 獠 was originally ko-lao 獠 Historically Lu Yu (1125-1210) in his *Lao huch-an pi-chi* 4 5a seems to have been the first to use the compound Chi-lao 獠 Chu Fu [lived in the Sung dynasty] uses the terms Chi-lao 獠 and Lao 獠 s de by s de in his *Chi-man tsung hiao* 1a 13a T'EN Ju-cheng states that 獠 equals 獠 cf *Yen-chiao chi wen* 4 18a Thus the different terms 獠, 獠, 獠, 獠, 獠 actually refer to the same group of people In general before Sung only the term Lao was current but during the Sung dynasty both Chi-lao and Lao were in use Since that time Chi-lao has been more common and *Chien shu* *Chien Miao tu shuo Kuei-chou tung-chih* and others do not use the name Lao A change in the meaning of Lao to a term indicating mountain robbers (cf Wu Cien-fang [chin-shih degree 166° 1'22] *Ling-nan tsa chi in Hsiao-fang hu chai* 9 193a) might be a cause for its infrequent usage Besides the same group is also called Tu-lao 土老 or 土獠 as in *Huang Ching chih kung tu* 7 33a *La frontière sino-annamite* 114 and *Tien hsi* 1807 1° 15a b G SOULI and CHAVO I-shu BEFEO 8 359

³³ Mu-lao is a sub-group of Chi-lao Cf CHU Chang-kong *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum fur Völkerkunde* 18 15 in which it is called Mu Chi-lao 獠 Many forms of the term appear i.e. 木老, 木獠, 獠, 獠, and 獠

³⁴ Ming Chou was to the south of Sü-nan Hsien 世南 in NF Kwei-low The term chou in Tang differs from the chou or department of the Ching dynasty A Ching chou was the division of a province ranking above a district or Hsien and below a sub-prefecture or T'ing 廳 Under the Tang dynasty a first-class Chou comprised 30,000 families or more and a second-class Chou over 20,000 but under 30,000 families Cf G M H PLAYFAIR 8 [Preface]

³⁵ It was established under Han and existed up to Tang comprising regions in Kwangtung Kwangsi and An-nan

to flight³⁸ During the reign of Kao-tsung 高宗 (650-683 A.D.), the Lao [people] of Yen Chou 劍州 rebelled and were suppressed by Governor Hsien Wan sui 謝萬歲³⁷ This is the earliest information we have regarding the Lao

During the period of the Five Dynasties (907-960 A.D.), Ma Hsi [2b]-fan 馬希範³⁸ the prince of Ch'u, sent soldiers to garrison Nan ning 南甯,³⁹ and accordingly commanded them to keep its land from generation to generation The groups were desirous of differentiating themselves from the Man people and accordingly took the surname of their commander as their designation, and called themselves Chung 仲 people This in turn was erroneously transformed into Chung 仲 people⁴⁰ Therefore, at the present time, the Chung Miao by reason of their noble group still lord it over the Miao

Under the Eastern Chin (317-420 A.D.), the Hsieh 謝 family was ordered to be the hereditary prefect of Tsang ko When Hou Ching 侯景⁴¹ raised disturbances against the Liang dynasty (502-557 A.D.), there was no communication between Tsang ko and the Central Kingdom, but the Hsieh family maintained its territory as before At the time of the T'ang dynasty, Tsang ko again was divided and thereupon there came into being the terms "Tung [Eastern] Hsieh" and "Hsi [Western] Hsieh"⁴² Subsequently, their clans were thereby

³⁸ The story is related in *T'ang shu* 222C 30b but the rebellion of the Shan Lao is ascribed to the twelfth year of the Chen kuan era (638) not 638

³⁹ Cf *T'ang shu* 222C 31a. Yen Chou was established under T'ang and according to *The Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Geographical Terms* must be somewhere in Kweichow The character 琰 of Yen Chou has been changed into 劍 by the author of our text to avoid the personal name of Emperor Chia-ching (1796-1820)

⁴⁰ Cf *Chiu Wu tai shih* 133 ~a-8a and *Wu-tai shih* 66 6a-9a.

⁴¹ Nan ning became a Chou under the T'ang dynasty It was formerly the prefecture of Chien ning See note 19

⁴² Cf *T'ung-chi hsien-chih* 1 1a, *Kuei-chow tung-chih* 7 10a, and *Huang Ching chih kung tu* 8 40a all of which mention that the Chung-chia were originally garrison soldiers The term Chung-chia is interpreted in two different ways S. R. CLARKE (95) says "The term Chung-chia is Chinese Chung possibly means the second of three brothers chia, as we have already explained means Family or Tribe and the term may be used to convey the idea that they are inferior to the Chinese and superior to the Miao" A second explanation is that Chung-chia is a reference to the sort of armor used by that group in former days and means heavy armor This is favored by *An-shun-fu chih* 15 12a Paul VIAL 33 and Commandant C. A. M. C. d'OLIVE, *Les derniers barbares* 150

⁴³ His biography is in *Liang shu* 56 and *Nan shu* 80

⁴⁴ Tung Hsieh and Hsi Hsieh were two groups described in *Chiu T'ang shu* 197 5a-6a and *T'ang shu* 222C 23a. Cf also Marquis M. J. L. d'HERVET DE ST DENIS 2.80-2 99

named, being called the Tung [Eastern] Miao and the Hsi [Western] Miao.

At the end of the Han dynasty, a great family named Chi 季 settled in Tsang-ko. Their clan was called Chi-tzü [i. e. descendants of the Chi family], which afterwards was erroneously transformed into I-tzü 夷子, and again into I-tzü 蟻子 and finally into I-tzü 禰子.⁴³

Nung Chih kao 儂智高⁴⁴ of the Sung dynasty was defeated by Ti Ch'ing 狄青,⁴⁵ and fled to the prefectures of Ssü-ch'êng 泗城 and Kuang-nan 廣南.⁴⁶ From this time on, there were among the Southern States the Nung-chia-tzü [i. e. descendants of the Nung family].

As for the Yang 楊 family of Po Chou 播州,⁴⁷ their kin who lived in Kweichow were called Yang-huang 獐獮.⁴⁸

At the end of the Han dynasty there was the great family Chao 趙 which later was erroneously called Yao-chia⁴⁹ Again [3a] there was the T'ung 童 family whose clan became the T'ung-chia.

The Miao people distinguished each of their groups by means of clothing Thereupon, there were the Pai [white] Miao, the Hua [Flowery] Miao, the Ch'ing [Blue] Miao, the Hei [Black] Miao and the Hung [Red] Miao⁵⁰

⁴³ Cf *T'ang shu* 222C 24b and WANG Ch'í, *Hsü wên-hsien t'ung k'ao* (1586) 241 50b

⁴⁴ The story of NUNG Chih kao is related in *Sung shih* 405 11a 15b

⁴⁵ His biography is found in *Sung shih* 290 13b-17a

⁴⁶ Ssü ch'êng was to the southwest of Ling yun Hsien 凌雲 in NW Kwangsi Kuang-nan was the present Kuang nan Hsien in eastern Yunnan

⁴⁷ It was present-day Tsun 1 Hsien 遵義 in central Kweichow

⁴⁸ The group is also called Yang kuang 獐獮 Cf *T'ung ch'í hsien-chih* 1 3a, *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 8 50a and Ch'ien chi 3 4b *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* gives us the further information that the Yang huang were related to the Tzü-chiang Miao 紫莖苗

⁴⁹ But *T'ung-ch'í hsien-chih* 1 2a states that the Yao-chia commonly have Chi 姬 as surname and that they are the descendants of Chou Cf also *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 8 24a

⁵⁰ The classification of the Miao into groups is comparatively recent After the *Shu-ching* and *Shih chi* the character Miao disappears for a very long time In *Sung shih* and *Yuan shih* it reappears as an appellation of certain barbarous people of the south, but the classification of the Miao is first found in *Ta Ming t'ung chih*, of T'ien-shun era (1457 1464), 88 1b which quotes from *Chiu Kuei-chou t'ung-chih* "The barbarians under the administration of Kweichow are of various groups namely. Lo-lo, Sung-chia, Ts'ai-chia, Lung-chia [Nung-chia, see note 53] Tsing-chu Lung-chia 竹龍家. Ta ya [Tooth Knocking] Ch'í lao, Hung [Red] Ch'í lao Hua [Flowery] Ch'í lao, Tung [Eastern] Miao, Hsi Miao Tzü-chiang Miao and Mai yeh Miao 異耶. Their customs differ" The use of the character Miao is confined here to the last four

A sub-group of the Hua Miao are the La-pa [Trumpet] Miao; a sub-group of the Ch'ing Miao are the Ch'ing-t'ou [Blue Head] Miao; a sub-group of the Hung Miao are the Hung-t'ou [Red Head] Miao; and sub-groups of the Hei Miao are the Kao-p'o [Steep Slope] Miao and Shan [Mountain] Miao.

Sub groups of the Ch'i-lao are the P'i-p'ao [Robe Wearing] Ch'i-lao, the Kuo-ch'üan [Pot Ring] Ch'i-lao, Ta-ya [Tooth Knocking] Ch'i-lao, the Ta-t'ieh [Iron Making] Ch'i-lao, the Ch'ing [Blue] Ch'i-lao, the Hung [Red] Ch'i-lao, the Lao-tang 猪鬃 and the Ch'i-tou 玃兜.⁵¹

Sub groups of the Lo-lo are the Lo-kuei, the Pai [White] Lo-lo and the Hei [Black] Lo-lo.⁵²

Sub-groups of the T'ung-chia are the Lao-tu [Old Earth] and the Li-min-tzū 里民子.

Sub-groups of the Lung-chia⁵³ are the Kou-êrh [Dog Ear] and Ma-ch'an [Horse Saddle-flap] 馬鞍.⁵⁴

groups TORII Ryūzō, *Byōzoku** 375-8, states that the division of Miao into Flowery, Blue, Red, Black and White must have been achieved after T'ien-shun era. But the mention of *Yüan shih lei pien* 42 67a of the Hua [Flowery] Miao, Pai [White] Miao, and Ch'ing [Blue] Miao indicates that the division existed already under the Yuan dynasty. However, before and during the Ming dynasty, the term Miao denoted a limited group of barbarians while since Ming the term has become as broad as the character 蠻 embracing all groups of the barbarous peoples. That is why Kuei-chou t'ung-chih, *Ch'ien shu* and our text use the term Miao-Man to indicate all peoples other than the Chinese in Kweichow.

⁵¹ The classification of the Ch'i-lao occurs earlier than that of the Miao. *T'ang shu* 222C 22a mentions Lao whose heads fly and Lao who carve their teeth. Kuei-hai yü-k'ing-chih 34a adds to the two groups mentioned above Lao who drink with their noses [See Appendix B], Lao who wear white garments, Lao who paint their faces with all colors and Lao who wear red trousers. *Ch'i-man t'ung-kiao* 6a-7a mentions the Ch'i-lao who have bulging eyes 眦目 and the Ch'i-lao who knock their teeth. In *Yen-chiao chi-wén* 4 18a, there is mention of Hua Ch'i-lao, Hung Ch'i-lao, Ta-ya Ch'i-lao, Chien-t'ou [Hair Cutting] Ch'i-lao and Chu-shih [Pig Excrement] Ch'i-lao. The greatest number of divisions is found in *Ch'ien miao fu shuo* with eleven groups of Ch'i-lao.

⁵² *Huang Ch'ing chih kung fu* 8 51a-52a mentions three groups of Lo-lo living in Kweichow. However, the Lo-lo are found in much greater number in the provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan. *Nan-chao yeh-chih* 2 4b-25a enumerates twelve groups. In *Yun-nan t'ung-chih* (1833) 182 10a-30b, fourteen groups are described and illustrated with pictures. A LIETARD 29-33 39-45 gives still more groups in the classification of the Lo-lo. Cf. also YOUNG Chung-chi, *L'entree et les mouvements des Lo-lo* 70.

⁵³ Lung-chia is but another appellation of Nung-chia 獠. Cf. the explanation in *An-shun-fu chih* 13 11b. Our author uses these two terms interchangeably of text 4a and 10a. In Yunnan, this group is called Nung jên, cf. *Huang Ch'ing chih kung fu* 7 23a and *T'ien An* 12 16b. G. SOULÉ and CHANG I-shu *RFFEO* 8 361. "Cette tribu

Moreover, there were the Tzū-chiang Miao⁵⁵ who formed the company of the district magistrate of Tzū-chiang at the time of the T'ang dynasty. Their descendants are scattered in present day Kuei-yang and P'ing-yueh 平越.⁵⁶

Moreover, there are the Ya-tzū [Duck] Miao, the Tung [Cave] Miao, the Liu-ê-tzū 六額子⁵⁷ the P'o-jên 焚人,⁵⁸ the Ya-ch'iao [Crow

se trouve a Kouang nan [see note 46] Presque toutes leurs coutumes sont semblables a celles des P'o [see note 58] Leur chef est un descendant de Nong Tche kao 儂智高 [see note 44] C'est pourquoi les barbares de cette tribu s'appellent Nong [Nung]" G SOULIE and CHANG I shu in note 1 of the same page state 'Les Nong ou Nung sont nombreux au Tonkin Dans l'Ouest vers la frontiere du Yunnan ils ont garde le costume decrit ici Plus bas, vers l'Est, ils ont adopte le costume chinois ou annamite Le clan Nong existe chez les Tho de Baô lac et les familles de ce clan remplissent des emplois de chefs hereditaires Ils sont trop connus pour que nous en donnions la description, nous dirons seulement que, par suite d'une prononciation defectueuse, on leur a quelquefois donne le nom de Long 龍, ce qui a fait croire à l'existence d'une nouvelle tribu'

⁵⁵ But cf *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 20b, *Ch'ien shu* 1 23b, *Kuei-chou t'ung-chih* 7 12b and *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 8 34a all of which have the term Ma teng [Horse Stirrup] Lung-chia 馬鐙龍家, explained as deriving from the fact that the women of the group made black cloth hats in the form of horse stirrups

⁵⁶ This group is mentioned in *Yuan shih lei pien* 42 67a and *Ta Ming i t'ung chih* 88 1b Cf also Marquis M J L d'HERVEY DE ST-DEYVS 2 102-4, note 74

⁵⁷ P'ing yueh was an independent department, i e., not under the control of a prefecture It is now P'ing yüeh Hsien to the east of Kuei-yang

⁵⁸ Cf *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 8 80a in which the Lu-ê-tzū, by reason of their similar history and customs, are said to be related to the Lung-chia [Nung-chia]

⁵⁹ P'o first appears in *Shih chi* 116 2b in the term P'o-t'ung [P'o-Servant 焚僮], and the commentator Wei Chao 韋昭 indicates the pronunciation 蒲北反. A note in Yun nan t'ung-chih compiled by Li Yüan yang [Chin shih degree, 1526] 16 22a states "P'o-tung are the present-day P'o-i 焚夷 to SW of Shun ning 順寧 [now a district in western Yunnan]" Cf *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 7 15a, G DEVÉLIA, *La frontière sino-annamite* 99-100 "Les Pa y 擺夷 ou P'o-y 焚夷 constituèrent sous la dynastie des Han la principauté de P'o-tseou 巨諾甸 et sous la dynastie des Thang [T'ang] les tribus de Pou hong et de Si ngo 步雄菩蛾二部 C'est au commencement de la dynastie mongole des Yüan qu'ils se donnerent à la Chine" Cf also *T'ien hai* 12 7a G SOULIE and CHANG I-shu *BEFFO* 8 315 "Ils [P'o-jên] sont originaires d'au-delà de la Rivière Noire On les appelle maintenant, par suite d'une erreur de prononciation Po-y; 百夷 Leur tempérament leur permet de supporter l'extreme chaleur; ils habitent dans des terrains bas humides et broussailleux C'est pourquoi on a composé leur nom P'o 焚 des caractères 棘 ki 'broussailles' et 人 jên, 'homme' Dans la partie sud-occidentale du Yunnan, les terres incultes s'étendent au loin de vastes plaines sont inutilisées Au bord de la mer, il y a beaucoup de terrains humides et de broussailles; c'est le pays qu'ils habitent Ils comptent plusieurs dizaines de tribus, dont les coutumes se ressemblent, mais dont les noms sont assez différents" The P'o

and Sparrow] the Hua tou 花兜, the Yao⁵⁸ Ping 狝, Yang 狝, Chuang 獠, Ling 狝 and Tung 狝⁵⁹ We do not know when they originated

In general, the Miao groups [3b] in Kweichow are altogether fifty two⁶¹ in number

have usually been connected with the Tai-Shan group Cf A VISSIERE JA 3 181 note 5 Tsouan 猯 le nom class que de la race Lolos comme Po 猯 est le nom classique de la race rivale les Thai [Tai] ou Pai yi

"The term Yao appears frequently only during the Sung Cf Marquis M J L d'HERVEY DE ST DENTS 2 31 "Au commencement des années long hng [Lung hng] (1163-1164) un rapport présente à l'Empereur exposant ce qu'il y a de territoires chinois du Houan [Hunan] touchent aux montagnes et aux vallées profondes occupées par les Man Yao [猯] FANG FENG (1941 1942) I su kao 1606-1615 5b identifie les Yao as the descendants of Pan hu 槃瓠 [Cf text 15a and Appendix C] and Wen-hsien tung kao has a long summary on Pan hu groups Cf Marquis M J L d'HERVEY DE ST DENTS 2 1-45 Cf also Huang Ching chih kung tu 3 51a b 4 7a 19a, and G DEVERIA La frontière sino-annamite 89 93

The Yao of Kweichow had migrated from Kwangsi in 1704 Cf Kuei-chou tung-chih 7 24a and Huang Ching chih kung tu 8 86a This group is called Man in Tonkin Cf Paul PELLIER BEFEO 4 136 Ils [Lao 猯] ne semblent pas devoir être rattachés aux populations de la race de 槃瓠 Pan hu que les Chinois nomment 猯 Yao et qui sous le nom de Man sont répandues au Tonkin dans le bassin de la Rivière Claire du Song Gan et du Song Bang-giang mais une étude spéciale sera nécessaire pour déterminer quels peuvent être leurs représentants actuels" Cf E MAITRE (BEFEO 5 203) states Ces Man 猯 sont encore des gènes dans les nomenclatures chinoises sous le nom de Yao 猯 Cf also G SOULIE and Chang I-shu BEFEO 8 150 note 1 Commandant C A M C d'OLIVE, Les derniers barbares 160 and Lieutenant Colonel Abadie Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires 3 (1922) 81

"Cf Kuei-chou tung-chih 7 24b Ling Zeng-seng 99 "Les six tribus des Ping [Ping] des Yong [Yang] des Lung des Tong [Tung] des Yao et des Tchouang [Chuang] vivent mêlées dans la sous-préfecture [district] de Li po 泥波 La dixième année yong-tcheng [Yung-cheng] (1732) cette sous-préfecture passa du Kouangsi [Kwangsi] sous la juridiction de la préfecture de Tou yun [Tu yun 都匀] dans la province de Kouei-tcheou [Kweichow] Bien que leurs coutumes et leurs costumes diffèrent les uns des autres leur langage et leurs goûts ne sont pas très éloignés les uns des autres" The term 猯 is pronounced Chuang Cf Huang Ching chih kung tu 4 43a G DEVERIA La frontière sino-annamite 96 Kuang-An tung-chih 1891 2-8 28b 3a V K. TING BMFEA 1 61 and Ling Zeng-seng 103

"The text actually enumerates fifty three groups instead of fifty two This enumeration of Miao-Man peoples in Kweichow has been worked out by different authors Out of sixty groups at least seven or eight that belong to the Miao-Man of Kweichow are portrayed in Pan-chao yeh-shih Yen-chiao ch'wen describes seventeen groups in which twelve live in Kweichow Most of forty-seven groups of thirty groups has been the chih are found in Kweichow CH'EN SHU's classification of thirty groups has been the basis for reclassification of groups by various authors It is an early work and its author T'ien Wen a prominent governor of Kweichow has been considered authori-

Pai 白 [White] Miao
 Hua 花 [Flowery] Miao
 Ch'ing 青 [Blue] Miao
 Hei 黑 [Black] Miao
 Hung 紅 [Red] Miao
 Shan 山 [Mountain] Miao
 Ch'ing-t'ou 青頭 [Blue Head] Miao
 Hung-t'ou 紅頭 [Red Head] Miao
 The La-pa 喇巴 [Trumpet] Miao
 Kao-p'o 高坡 [Steep Slope] Miao
 Chung-Chia 狛家
 Ts'ai-chia 蔡
 Sung-chia 宋
 Nung-chia 獐
 Kou-êrh 狗耳 [Dog Ear] Nung-chia
 Ma-ch'an 馬褡 [Horse Saddle-flap] Nung-chia
 I-tzû 獐子
 Yang-huang 獐獐
 Yao-chia 天
 Hsi 西 [Western] Miao
 Tung 東 [Eastern] Miao
 T'ung-chia 童
 Li-min-tzû 里民子
 Lao-t'u 老土 [Old Earth]
 Lo-kuei 獐鬼
 Lo-lo 獐獐
 Hei 黑 [Black] Lo-lo
 Pai 白 [White] Lo-lo
 Pu-nung 補獐
 Tzû-chiang 紫獐 Miao
 Ch'i-lao 狛獐
 P'i-p'ao 披袍 [Robe Wearing] Ch'i-lao
 Kuo-ch'uan 鍋圈 [Pot Ring] Ch'i-lao
 Ta-ya 打牙 [Tooth Knocking] Ch'i-lao
 Ta-t'ieh 打鐵 [Iron Making] Ch'i-lao

tative *Shuo man* gives descriptions of sixty groups but some are not found in Kwei-chow. Eighty-two groups are listed in *Ch'ien Miao t'u shuo* [Cmu Chang kong's translation has only eighty-one groups] and *Ch'ien chi Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* and *Kuei-chou t'ung-chih* both have forty-two groups

Ch'ing 青 [Blue] Ch'i lao
 Hung 紅 [Red] Ch'i lao
 Ch'i tang 犴獐
 Ch'i tou 犴兜
 Mu lao 獐獐
 Ya tzu 鴨子 [Duck] Miao
 Tung 洞 [Cave] Miao
 Lu e tzu 六額子
 P'o-jen 焚人
 P'o-erh tzu 焚耳子
 Ya-ch'iao 雅雀 [Crow Sparrow] Miao
 Hua tou 花兜 Miao
 Yao-jen 獐
 Ping jen 狝
 Yang jen 狝
 Chuang jen 獐
 Ling jen 狝
 T'ung jen 獐²²

²² The importance of this introductory part is that the author not only traces the historical development of each group but also relates the smaller divisions to the main groups. In other words he has classified the subdivisions of the Miao Nung chia, Lo-lo Chung-chia, Ch'i lao etc.

Using this method one may group his fifty three subdivisions into seven categories which will be convenient for further discussion. First the Miao proper consisting of ten groups i.e., the Pai Miao Hua Miao Ch'ing Miao Hei Miao Hung Miao, Shan Miao Chung tou Miao Hung tou Miao La pa Miao and kao-po Miao. The groups whose migrations are traced and whom the author considers to be Chinese garrison soldiers are probably much mixed with the Miao and hence may form a subdivision of this category. These are the Tung (Eastern) Miao, Hsi Miao, Tsai-chia, Sung-chia, I trü, Yang huang, Yao-chia, T'ung-chia, Li min trü, Lao-tu and Trü-chiang Miao. In addition the Ya-trü Miao being related to the Chung Miao [cf. text 14b] and the Ya-chiao Miao and the Hua tou Miao being said to use Chinese clothing these groups might also be included in this Sinitised subdivision of the Miao proper. Second the Chung-chia may form an independent category for the author emphasizes that by reason of their nobility they still lord it over the Miao-Man. Third the Nung-chia may be taken to consist of the Kou-erh Nung-chia, Ma-chan Nung-chia, Pu nung and Lu-e-trü. Fourth the Lo-lo may include the Lo-kuei, Pai Lo-lo and Hei Lo-lo. Fifth the Ch'i-lao ought to include the P'i-pao Ch'i-lao, Kuo-ch'uan Ch'i-lao, Ta-ya Ch'i-lao, Ta-t'ieh Ch'i-lao, Ch'ing Ch'i-lao, Hung Ch'i-lao, Ch'i tang Ch'i-tou and Mu-lao. The Tung (Cave) Miao, Ping Yang Chuang Ling and Tung-jen may be considered off-shoots of the Ch'i-lao. Some people however would prefer to include them in the sixth category with the Yao. The seventh and last category would be the P'o including both the P'o-jen and P'o-trü-trü.

The customs of each group will now be enumerated first and [4a] their places of residence added later.⁶³

THE PAI MIAO

The Pai Miao are found in all [the following regions]: Kuei-yang, Ting-fan 定番,⁶⁴ Ta-t'ang 大塘,⁶⁵ Kuang-shun 廣順,⁶⁶ K'ai Chou 開州,⁶⁷ Kuei chu 貴筑,⁶⁸ Lung-li 龍里,⁶⁹ Kuei-ting 貴定,⁷⁰ Hsiu-wên 修文,⁷¹ Kuei-hua 歸化,⁷² Ch'ien-hsi 黔西,⁷³ Ch'ing-chiang 清江,⁷⁴ and Li-p'ing 黎平.⁷⁵

They prefer white garments which in length barely reach the knees. The men go bareheaded and barefooted. The women do their hair in a roll and fasten it with long clasps.⁷⁶

Each year, in the first month of spring, there is a gathering of men and maidens in the country which is called "the Moon Dance." Level ground is selected as the site for the dance of the moon. They dress in new garments and ornament themselves beautifully. The men blow reed organs and the women beat tinkling bells. After a while, they

⁶³ I.e., the author first lists the people by groups and notes their customs. The geographical treatment begins below on page 15b.

⁶⁴ A department south of Kuei yang.

⁶⁵ It is now a district or Hsien in southern Kweichow.

⁶⁶ A department SW of Kuei-yang.

⁶⁷ A department, now called K'ai-yang Hsien 開陽, in central Kweichow.

⁶⁸ The head district of Kuei-yang-fu, now Kuei yang or the capital in central Kweichow.

⁶⁹ A district SE of Kuei-yang.

⁷⁰ A district east of Kuei yang.

⁷¹ A district NW of Kuei-yang.

⁷² A sub-prefecture, now called Tzū-yün Hsien 紫雲, in SW Kweichow.

⁷³ A department in western Kweichow.

⁷⁴ A sub-prefecture, now called Chien-ho Hsien 劍河, in eastern Kweichow.

⁷⁵ A prefecture in SE Kweichow.

⁷⁶ To do the hair in a roll is a special cultural trait of the Miao. This habit has long been practised. Cf. *Shih chi* 110 1a and *Hou-Han shu* 95 1a. A. WYLIE, *JAI* 9 55. "Among the barbarians of the south there were several tens of chiefs, the largest of their domains being that of Yay-lang [Yeh lang]. To the west of that were the Me-mo [Mi mo 靡莫] tribes, several tens in number, the largest domain being that of T'een [Tien 滇]. To the north of T'een were several tens of chiefs, the largest domain being that of K'ung too [Chiung tu 邛都]. All these tribes bound up their hair in a knot, cultivated the ground, and congregated in towns." This group which was characterized by the roll or knot hairdress and by agriculture with settled town life may be contrasted to a western group which plaited its hair and shifted dwellings for the sake of pasturage.

leap, sing and dance, and wanton all day long In the evening, taking their favorites, they return to their homes and do not separate until the next morning ⁷⁷

In sacrificing to their ancestors, they select large bulls ⁷⁸ which have symmetrical heads and horns, and feed them When the bulls grow strong, they collect them from each stockade ⁷⁹ and make them fight in the fields Winning [bulls] are regarded as lucky After the fight, they divine for an auspicious day and slaughter the bulls as a sacrifice The master of the sacrifice wears a white garment with blue sleeves and red pleats, and broad skirt After the sacrifice, the kindred assemble They sing aloud and drink freely

⁷⁷ The Miao Moon Dance is still in vogue CHEN Ting in his *Tien Chien tu-szu lun-li-chi* (4a) connects the Moon Dance with an ancient Chinese practice while T'ANG Tsai fu in his translation (TP 6 598) gives a note stating "TCH EN Ting [CHEN Ting] ne cite pas tres exactement le passage du *Tcheou li* [Chou li] auquel il se refere ce passage qui se trouve a l'article du mei che 媒氏 est ainsi conçu 'Le deuxieme mois du printemps on ordonne de reunir les hommes et les femmes A cette époque ceux qui s'enfuient, cela ne leur est pas interdit 奔者不禁' Ceux qui sans cause n'obéissent pas a cet ordre on les punit M GRANET explains clearly how ancient Chinese marriage customs could be better understood by the study of living peoples cf his *Coutumes matrimoniales de la Chine antique* TP 13 (1910) 517-53 and Fetes" 278-301 William LOCKHART states that the women of the Miao have more liberty and have the right to choose their husbands cf *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 1 (1861) 185 For the description of the Moon Dance see Appendix B This practice is comparable to those of other countries especially Greece and Japan cf Paul Louis Couchoud

⁷⁸ The bull is associated with the Miao just as the horse is associated with the Lo-lo Cf C E Jamieson *The China Journal of Science and Arts* 1 (1923) 381 The Miao use bulls not only for bride money and as a medium of exchange but also for sacrifice to their ancestors See Appendix D

The Miao worship the Bamboo-King 竹王 cf *Chien shu* 3 8b-9b *Shu Chien shu* 2 3a-4b and LRU Hsi fan *Ling-piao chi-man* 86 An account of the Bamboo-King, their legendary ancestor is found in *Hou Han shu* 116 14a b Berthold LAUTER *The Journal of American Folk-lore* 30 (1917) 421 In the beginning a woman was bathing in the Tun River 逐水, when a large bamboo consisting of three joints came floating along and entered between the woman's legs She pushed it, but it did not move She heard an infant's voice inside took the bamboo up and returning home split it She found in it a male child and reared him till he had grown up He developed warlike abilities and established himself as Marquis of Ye-lang (Yeh-lang), assuming the family name Chu (that is Bamboo)" Cf also *Hua-yang kuo chieh* 4 1a b and T'UNG Ch n tsao *Min tsu* 3 (1935) 183-8

⁷⁹ The Miao-Man Peoples call the villages stockades for they are sometimes very well fortified with stone walls hedges and bamboo plantations. Cf *Yen-chiao chi-man* 4 15b, G E BETTS, *JACARAS* 33 (1900-1901) 83 and LRU Hsi fan, *Ling-piao chi-man*

By nature they are stupid and [6b] harsh. They shift about without settling permanently and often they till the fields as the hirelings of others.

THE HUA MIAO

The Hua Miao are found in all [the following regions] Kuei yang Ting fan, Ta t'ang, Kuang shun, Kai Chou, Kuei chu, Kwei ting Hsü wen An shun 安順,⁸⁰ Lang tai 郎岱,⁸¹ Kwei hua, Yung ning 永甯,⁸² Chen ning 鎮甯,⁸³ Pu ting 普定,⁸⁴ Ch'ing chên 清鎮,⁸⁵ Ta ting 大定,⁸⁶ Ping yuan 平遠,⁸⁷ Ch'ien hsi, Wei ning 甯定,⁸⁸ Shui ch'eng 水威,⁸⁹ Pi chieh 畢節,⁹⁰ Chên yuan 鎮遠,⁹¹ Shih ping 施秉,⁹² Sheng ping 勝平,⁹³ T'ien chu 天柱,⁹⁴ and Li p'ing

They have no family names.⁹⁵ They use worn cloth torn into strips which they weave for their clothes. These have no collars and no openings and are pulled on over their heads. The men wrap their heads with blue cloth. The women gather hair of horses' manes and tails and mix this with human hair to make wigs which are of the size of a peck and which they comb with wooden combs. As for their garments, they first draw flowers on cloth with wax and then dye the cloth. After dyeing when the wax is taken off, the flowery pattern

⁸⁰ A prefecture SW of Kuei yang

⁸¹ A sub-prefecture in SW Kweichow

⁸² A department now called Kuan ling Hsien 關嶺 in SW Kweichow

⁸³ A department in SW Kweichow

⁸⁴ The head district of An-shun fu in SW Kweichow

⁸⁵ A district SW of Kuei yang

⁸⁶ A prefecture in western Kweichow

⁸⁷ A department now called Chih-chün Hsien 織金, in western Kweichow

⁸⁸ A department in the extreme west of Kweichow

⁸⁹ A sub-prefecture in western Kweichow

⁹⁰ A district in western Kweichow

⁹¹ A prefecture in eastern Kweichow

⁹² A district in eastern Kweichow

⁹³ A region to the south of Chen yüan Hsien in eastern Kweichow

⁹⁴ A district in the extreme east of Kweichow

⁹⁵ Cf. *Ta Ch'ing t'ung chih* 330-37a in which the Hua Miao are reported to have personal names but not family names. According to *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 13b all the Miao people lack family names. However Yen Ju yü (1750-1820) *Miao-fang pei-lan* 1820 8 5a states that the Miao who have the surnames Wu 吳, Lung 龍, Shih 石, Ma 麻, and Liao 廖 are the genuine Miao and the others are outsiders who have married in, adopted their customs and thus became Miao.

appears. They adorn the sleeves with embroidery, and therefore they are called the Hua [Flowery] Miao.⁹⁶

Their practice of "the Moon Dance" is the same as that of the Pai Miao. Bride prices are high or low according to the beauty or ugliness of the maidens.

When in mourning, they slaughter cattle and summon their kindred from far and near who all bring funeral gifts of wine and meat. Walking round [the dead] they weep giving vent to their grief.

In burial they use no coffins, but bind the hands and feet of the dead and bury them. They divine the burial place by means of [7a] eggs.⁹⁷ Sites where eggs are dropped without breaking are regarded as lucky.

When sick, they take no medicine, but, praying to ghosts, they slaughter cattle and cut up poultry. After doing this, though they ruin their families, they do not in the least regret it.

They take the sixth moon as the first of the year. By nature they are stupid but hold in awe the laws. Though rude in manners they are diligent in labor. The families which settled in the regions of Chên-yüan and Li-p'ing, are: the Chang 張, Lu 陸, Yao 姚, Li 李, Chu 朱, P'an 潘, Yang 楊 and Wu 吳 families.

⁹⁶ Cf *Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih* 330-37a in which a brief description is found concerning the dwelling place of the Hua Miao. "They use wood to build cottages like birds' nests. Their sleeping place is used for cooking food as well as for sheltering cattle." *Miao-jang pei-lan* 8 5a-b gives a more detailed description of the dwelling place of the Miao. "The Miao people build cottages upon mountain slopes. The rooms are low and narrow. Sometimes, they have also built tiled houses. Each cottage consists of three or five rooms and each room is supported by five or six poles. The cottages have no upper stories and face in no definite direction, they have neither windows nor walls, but are enclosed by reeds and thatch. Since the roofs and doors are low when leaving or entering it is necessary to lower the head. [In each cottage] to the right, they build a long bed, four or five feet in height, within which a stove is placed. They cook, sit and sleep on the bed. The beds are called 'fire beds' 火牀. A man's parents, he and his wife, his brothers, and the wives of his brothers all sleep together without privacy. But husband and wife share the same coverlet. When a daughter grows up, they make another bed to the right for her. Whenever guests spend the night they let them sleep together with the family, without considering it strange. Cattle, horses, chickens, dogs, etc., are all kept under the bed, this is customary; they do not think it dirty." Cf also F. M. SAVINA 189 92.

⁹⁷ The use of eggs for divination is an old practice. Cf *Fang ling* (1211-1322). *1 shu k'ao* 6b. For the methods by which eggs and even chickens are used for divination, cf *Miao-jang pei-lan* 8 14a b.

THE CH'ING MIAO

The Ch'ing Miao are found in all [the following regions]: Kuei-yang, Ch'ang-chai 長寨,⁹⁸ Ting-fan, Ta-t'ang, Lo-hu, Kuang-shun, Kuei-chu, Lung-li, Kuei-ting, Hsiu-wên, An-shun, Lang-tai, Kuei hua, Chên-ning, P'u-ting, An-p'ing 安平,⁹⁹ Ch'ing-chên, Ta-ting and Ch'ien-hsi.

They prefer blue garments. The men wear hats of bamboo splints and straw sandals. Whether coming or going, they have to wear knives. In nature they are hardy and overbearing, and are fond of fighting. The women make "flowery mountain kerchiefs" ¹⁰⁰ of blue cloth to cover their heads. Their upper garments reach to the waist and their skirts cover the knees.

Their marriages and "the Moon Dance" are the same as those of the Pai Miao. In time of mourning, funerals, or marriages, they always use cattle for gifts. When sick, they take no medicine but only pray to ghosts and trust to witchcraft. They understand Chinese 漢語 [7b].

THE HEI MIAO

The Hei Miao are found in all [the following regions]. Huang-p'ing 黃平,¹⁰¹ Chên-yuan, T'ai-kung 台拱,¹⁰² Ch'ing-chiang, the district of Chên-yuan,¹⁰³ Shih-ping, Shêng-ping, T'ien-chu, P'ing-yueh, Tu-yun 都勻,¹⁰⁴ Pa-chai 公寨,¹⁰⁵ Tu-chiang 都江,¹⁰⁶ Tan-chiang 丹江,¹⁰⁷ Tu-shan 獨山,¹⁰⁸ Ma-ha 麻哈,¹⁰⁹ the district of Tu-yun, Ch'ing-p'ing 清平,¹¹⁰ Li-p'ing and Yung-ts'ung 永從.¹¹¹

⁹⁸ A sub-prefecture SW of Kuei-yang.

⁹⁹ A district, now P'ing pa Hsien 平壩, SW of Kuei-yang.

¹⁰⁰ But in some places, the kerchiefs are called "nine flower kerchiefs" 九華巾. Cf. *Ta Ch'ing-t'ung chih* 331 22a, Mao Kuei-ming, *Ch'ien-Miao chu-chih tzu* (1881) 1 2a and Curu Chang kong, *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde* 18 28, note 61.

¹⁰¹ A department in eastern Kweichow.

¹⁰² A sub-prefecture in eastern Kweichow.

¹⁰³ The head district of the prefecture of Chên yüan in eastern Kweichow.

¹⁰⁴ A prefecture, with its head district of the same name, SE of Kuei-yang.

¹⁰⁵ A sub-prefecture in SE Kweichow.

¹⁰⁶ A sub-prefecture in SE Kweichow.

¹⁰⁷ A sub-prefecture in SE Kweichow.

¹⁰⁸ A department in SE Kweichow.

¹⁰⁹ A department, now called Ma-chuang Hsien 麻江, east of Kuei-yang.

¹¹⁰ A district, now Lu-shan Hsien 鎮山, east of Kuei-yang.

¹¹¹ A district in SE Kweichow.

Their garments are short and they prefer black. The women fasten their hair with long clasps, and wear large earrings and silver necklaces. They adorn the edges of their garments as well as their sleeves with cloth of various colors. Both men and women go barefooted. They climb craggy, steep cliffs as swiftly as apes and monkeys.

They are industrious in farming and wood-cutting. The women labor and toil very much. They work outdoors in the day-time and spin in the evening.¹¹²

Their food is only glutinous rice. They pound it extremely white, steam it thoroughly, and form rolls which they eat with their hands. When they have a lamb, pig, chicken, dog, goose, or duck, without plucking them they put them into jars. After waiting until these putrefy and become alive with maggots, they eat them. This is known as pickle 鹹菜,¹¹³ and is esteemed a delicacy.

In cold weather, they wear no heavy clothes, and at night they have no beds. Those in Ma-ha shift about without settling permanently.

¹¹² Cf. *Miao-fang pei-lan* 8 8b-9a. "In agriculture, the Miao men and women work together. They have more mountain farms than irrigated fields. The farms are seldom suitable for grain. Burning the thorny trees and decomposing plants and exploiting the mountain slopes, they plant arsamum, millet, rice, wheat, beans, calyx grain, Kao-liang, jungle-wheat,—all these various crops. Having cultivated for three or four years, they relinquish the old land and exploit new places because the land becomes poor after intensive cultivation. After lying fallow several years, when the soil is rich again, they continue to cultivate." The women spin hemp and weave cloth and are all

able to skillfully crouch or sit on the ground to weave. The cloth is also thick and lasts long. Beside the farming and weaving they also raise mostly cattle, horses, dogs, goats, pigs, cats, chickens, and ducks. They pay special attention to cattle which are also the objects of theft. The cattle are not used for farming but only for food and trade." Cf. Aloys SCHOTTER, *Anthropos* 4 (1909) 312.

M. M. MOVINGEN in her "The Hainanese Miao," *JACARAS* 52 (1921) 45 gives a more detailed description of the Miao farming system. "Different from the Chinese they [the Miao] know nothing of fertilizing their fields except by the use of wood ashes. Neither do they know how to raise rice in paddy fields, but plant only the upland glutinous rice, of which they have ten or eleven varieties, most of them white. They clear the steep mountain sides by cutting out some of the brush and smaller timber, burn off the place, dig up the ground with their small hoes and raise two or three crops of rice, maize and sweet potatoes. When the rice is ripe it is cut and bound in small bundles. These bundles are placed in racks under thatched roofs to dry and sweat and later stored in the rice rooms in the houses and beaten out and pounded as needed. When the fertility in one place is exhausted they go to another hillside and repeat the process."

¹¹³ Cf. *Yen-chiao chu-wén* 4 14b. *Man-su ho-chih* 1 2b and *Ch'ien ch'i* 1 2b.

THE HUNG MIAO

The Hung Miao are found in all [the following regions]: An-hua 安化,¹¹⁴ T'ung-jên 銅仁,¹¹⁵ the district of T'ung-jên, Sung-t'ao 松桃,¹¹⁶ and Tsun-i.

Their garments are made of colored silk. The cattle are all slaughtered by blows. Their hair is singed off with fire, and they are cooked slightly and eaten rare.

Every year, on the tiger [8a] day of the first moon, husband and wife sleep apart. In order to avoid ghosts, they dare not speak and do not go out of the house. It is said that one who breaks the tabu will be injured by a tiger.¹¹⁷

By nature they are fond of fighting. Those settled in the regions of T'ung-jên and Tsun-i are such families as the Shih 石, Ma 麻, T'ien 田, and Lung 龍.

THE SHAN MIAO

The Shan Miao, sub-group of the Hei Miao, are found in the regions of Ch'ang-chai, Hsia-chiang 下江,¹¹⁸ and Ku-chou 古州.¹¹⁹ Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Hei Miao.

THE CH'ING-T'OU MIAO

The Ch'ing-t'ou Miao, sub-group of the Ch'ing Miao, are found only in the district of Tsun-i. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese.

THE HUNG-T'OU MIAO

The Hung-t'ou Miao, sub-group of the Hung Miao, are found in all [the following regions]: Tsun-i, Sui-yang 綏陽,¹²⁰ T'ung-tzū and

¹¹⁴ A district, now Ssu nan Hsien 思南 in NE Kweichow

¹¹⁵ A prefecture in NE Kweichow

¹¹⁶ An independent sub-prefecture in NE Kweichow. An independent sub-prefecture was a division ranking immediately after a prefecture and dependent directly on a circuit or Tao 道

¹¹⁷ The tabu of closing doors and seclusion in the house is mentioned in *Man-sū ho-chū* 2 3a and *T'ung-chi hnen-chū* 2 2a. Cf also *Ta Ch'ing : t'ung chū* 334 18b. *Huang Ch'ing chū kung t'u* 8 10b and *Kuei-chou t'ung-chū* 7 14a

¹¹⁸ A sub-prefecture in SE Kweichow

¹¹⁹ A sub-prefecture, now Jung-chiang Hsien 涪江, in SE Kweichow

¹²⁰ A district in northern Kweichow

Jèn-huai 仁懷.¹²¹ Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese.

THE LA-PA MIAO

The La-pa Miao are found in the region of Shui-ch'êng. They are a sub-group of the Hua Miao. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Hua Miao

THE KAO-P'O MIAO

The Kao-p'o Miao, sub-group of the Hei Miao, are found in the regions of Li-p'ing, K'ai-t'ai 開泰¹²² and Yung-ts'ung. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Hei Miao

THE CHUNG-CHIA

The Chung-chia Miao are found in all [the following regions]. Kuei yang, Ch'ang-chai, Ting-fan, Ta-t'ang, K'ai Chou, Kuei chu, Lung-h, Kuei-ting, Hsiu-wên, An-shun, Lang-tai, Kuei-hua, Yung-ning, Chên-ning P'u-ting, An p'ing, Ch'ing-chên, Ta-ting, P'ing-yuan, Ch'ien hsi, Wei ning, Shui-ch'êng, Hsing-i 興義,¹²³ the district of Hsing-i, Chên-fêng 貞豐,¹²⁴ An-nan 安南,¹²⁵ the district of P'u an 普安,¹²⁶ the sub-prefecture of P'u-an,¹²⁷ Ts'ê-hêng 册亨,¹²⁸ P'ing-yueh, Wêng-an 甕安,¹²⁹ Yu-ch'ing 慶餘,¹³⁰ Tu-yun, Tu-shan, Ma-ha, and the district of Tu yün.

During the time of the Five Dynasties, Ma Yin 馬殷,¹³¹ Prince of Ch'u, migrated from Yung Kuan 筓管,¹³² having with him the families of Pan 班, Mo 莫, Liu 柳, Wên 文 and Lung.

¹²¹ A district in NW Kweichow

¹²² A district, now Li p'ing Hsien 黎平, in SE Kweichow

¹²³ A prefecture, now An lung Hsien 安龍, in SW Kweichow. It should be distinguished from a district of the same name, Hsing i, to the west of the prefecture

¹²⁴ A department in SW Kweichow

¹²⁵ A district in SW Kweichow

¹²⁶ A district in SW Kweichow

¹²⁷ An independent sub-prefecture, now P'an Hsien 盤 in SW Kweichow

¹²⁸ Now Ts'ê-hêng Hsien in SW Kweichow

¹²⁹ A district NE of Kuei yang

¹³⁰ A district NE of Kuei yang

¹³¹ His biography is found in *Chiu Wu tai shih* 133 5b-7a and *Wu tai shih* 66 1a-5a.

¹³² Cf. *Chiu T'ang shu* 41 64b in which Yung kuan is said to consist of ten Chou. It was the present-day Yung-ning Hsien 筓寧 in southern Kwangsi

The men all cut off their hair and wrap their heads with blue cloth. Their clothing is the same as that of the Chinese. The women cover their rolls of hair with flowery cloth. Their skirts are long and minutely pleated with more than twenty pleats. Their upper garments are very short. They wear at their waists a piece of colored cloth, like a sash, which is pieced with blue cloth.¹³³ By nature they are diligent in weaving.¹³⁴

They take the twelfth moon as the beginning of the year. Collecting the bones of cattle, horses, chickens or dogs, they mix them with rice to make pickle which sours and putrefies, and is regarded as a delicacy. They designate the rich by the term "accumulating pickle for several generations."

Marriage is always by illicit intercourse. Each [9a] year, in the first month of spring, "the Moon Dance" is held. Out of colored cloth they make small balls called colored balls.¹³⁵ Aiming at their favorites

¹³³ Cf. *Nan chao yeh-shih* 2 34b. C. SAINSON 185 "Les femmes se couvrent la tête avec de la toile noire à la façon d'un bonnet de bonze et y cousent des coquilles marines; elles ont une veste et une jupe en toile de diverses couleurs." Their characteristic skirt of more than twenty pleats is mentioned in *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 19a. G. E. BETTS gives a description (*JNCHRAS* 33 87-8) "When a Chong kia [Chung-chia] maiden goes to market, attends a wedding or funeral, she attires herself in short-sleeved jacket and pleated skirt with colored designs woven in the material; her head is adorned with a dark cloth having embroidered ends; her jewelry consists of ear rings, necklaces and bracelets."

¹³⁴ In regard to the industry and living conditions of the Chung-chia, G. E. BETTS (*JNCHRAS* 33 91) gives a brief description: "The Chong kia villages present at once the appearance of industry and thrift. While the men are engaged from early dawn till dusk in the adjoining fields, the women at home are busy with the loom, spindle, mill, plaiting sandals, carrying water, threshing grain, feeding cattle, washing and mending their husbands' clothes and various other duties. The Chong kia are cleaner in their habits than the Miao-kia; their villages are larger and dwellings better built compared with those of the Miao. The houses are built of stone, usually two storeys, the upper storey being used chiefly for storing grain. In some parts of Kweichow [Kweichow] the Chong kia build their houses on piles at a height of six feet from the ground; these dwellings are oblong in construction, having four or more divisions, the space within the piles being utilized as a cattle pen." That the Chung-chia live in houses on piles which differ from those of the Miao proper is mentioned in *Nan-chao yeh-shih* 2 35a, *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 19a, *Man-shu ho-chih* 2 4a and *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 7 19a. This is not, however, the special trait of the Chung-chia, for the Ch'iao Nung-chia, and Chuang jen also live in houses on piles. See notes 161, 167 and 177.

¹³⁵ The Moon Dance is a general practice in which the young men and maidens choose mates themselves. Different groups differ in details. The Chung-chia use colored balls as mentioned in *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 8 40a and *Ta Ch'ing t'ung chih*

they throw them. Elopement is not prohibited. For bride money they use cattle, determining the price on the basis of beauty. The highest price reaches thirty or fifty head.

In mourning they slaughter cattle and summon their kindred and friends. They use large jars to hold wine, and grasping cow horns [filled with liquor] they urge one another to drink. The host does not eat meat, but only eats fish and shrimp.

In burial, they use coffins and cover the grave with umbrellas 繖 which are burnt after a year. In sacrifice they use dried fish

At the beginning of the year, they beat bronze drums ¹³⁶ for entertainment. When sick, they take no medicine, but prefer [to rely on] witchcraft and ghosts. Some among them have entered schools.¹³⁷

THE TS'AI-CHIA

The Ts'ai-chia Miao are found in all [the following regions]: Kuei-yang, Kuei-chu, Lung-li, Hsiu-wên, Lang-tai, P'u-ting, An-p'ing, Ch'ing-chên, Ta-ting, P'ing-yuan, Ch'ien-hsi and Shui-ch'êng

During the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals (722-481 B. C.), [the kingdom of] Ts'ai was overthrown by [the principality of] Ch'u. The people of Ts'ai were captured and transported to the southern frontier. Accordingly, they became Miao.

The men make garments from felt. The women use the same material to form their headdresses, which are adorned with blue cloth and shaped like cows' horns. These are more than a foot in height,

330 37a The Nung chia erect a pole called "ghost pole" and dance around it. The Chuang jen young men and maidens exchange gifts of shoulder poles and embroidered bags. At courtship, the Miao blow reed organs and beat tinkling bells in an antiphony. See notes 77, 144 and Appendix B.

¹³⁶ The earliest record of the bronze drums is found in *Hou-Han shu* 54 10b. TORII Ryûzô has made an historical and summary study of the bronze drums in his *Byôzoku*. Ryûzô has made an historical and summary study of the bronze drums in Kweichow is primarily confined 300-342. He states that use of the bronze drums in Kweichow is primarily confined to the Chung-chia group (315). Again, he connects these bronze drums with those still used in Tonkin and Salayer Island (338).

¹³⁷ The Chung-chia, who have been stated to be a noble group among the Miao by our author, are described by other writers as more intelligent, cleaner, and more similar to the Chinese. Cf. *Man-ssu ho-chih* 2 3b, *Shuo-man* 7b. HUANG Yuan-chih, *Ch'ien-chung tsao-chi* (1663) 2b and T'ao Wen-chiang [V. K. Ting 1888-1936] *Tu-ti p'ing-lun* 8 (1932) 22. Paul VIAL (35) states that the Chung-chia differ from the Miao in manners, customs, and languages. In the words of G. E. BERTS, "The Chong-kia are more intelligent, have finer physique, and are cleaner than the Miao-kia, they number more than all the Miao-kia tribes put together" (*JNCARAS* 33 85).

and fastened with long clasps. They wear short upper garments but long shirts [9b]

Fathers in law and daughters in law never speak to each other¹³⁸ In mourning, they eat neither rice nor flesh, but gruel made of darnel [This practice] still preserves ancient procedure¹³⁹ Slaughtering cattle, they gather together their kin, they blow reed organs and dance This is called "keeping up the old custom" 作夏

THE SUNG CHIA

The Sung chia Miao are found in [the regions of] Kuei yang, Kuei-chu and Ch'ien hsi

The men wear hats and long garments. The women do up their hair and wear short garments

When there is going to be a marriage, the bridegroom's family send people to welcome [the bride]. Then the bride's family, leading their kin, flog them. This is called "marriage by capture"¹⁴⁰ At dawn, [the bride] presents water for the hands of her mother in law, and the bridegroom and the bride take baths with warm water. After three days this stops

In mourning their relatives, they avoid rice and drink water¹⁴¹ After twenty one days, the burial occurs. The graves are shaped and worked like horses' manes

¹³⁸ Cf Robert H Lowie 84. Among a great many primitive peoples the husband and more rarely the wife assumes an altogether peculiar social relationship with regard to the parents in law. There is either complete rupture of all direct intercourse with one or both of them or intercourse is hedged about with restrictions that may or may not be relaxed either with prolonged matrimony or through the performance of a special act. For parent in law taboos in different regions of the world cf 81-97 103-4 105-6

¹³⁹ Cf *La chi* 禮記 S. COUVREUR 2 532. "Il [the mourner] ne portait à ses lèvres ni eau ni bouillon. Pendant trois jours il n'allumait pas de feu (ne faisait pas cuire d'aliments). Les habitants du voisinage lui préparaient de la bouillie de riz ou de millet pour sa nourriture et de l'eau de riz ou de millet pour sa boisson."

¹⁴⁰ John Ferguson McLennan has made a detailed study concerning marriage by capture and its symbolism. His theory is that the symbolic form of capture does imply that wives were at one time systematically obtained by theft or force. He traces the universal practice of the custom and the co-existence of this practice and exogamy. Cf "Primitive Marriage: An Inquiry into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies" in his *Studies in Ancient History* London 1886 1-101

¹⁴¹ Cf *La chi* S. COUVREUR 2 532. "Un fils, après la mort de son père ou de sa mère lorsque l'offrande avait été présentée au retour de l'enterrement et que les pleurs continuels avaient cessé n'avait que du riz grossier pour nourriture et de l'eau pour boisson; il ne mangeait ni légumes ni fruits." See also note 132

The men are industrious in farming and weaving They learn propriety, fear the laws and understand Chinese Many of them have become students, entering the schools established by the prefectures and districts

THE NUNG-CHIA

The Nung-chia Miao are found in all [the following regions] An shun P'u ting Ching chen Ping yuan, Ch'ien hsi and Pi-chieh

The men shave their heads in the same way as the Chinese The women take pieces of cloth and fold them into square turbans to cover their heads They wear short upper garments and long skirts, they prefer blue and white ¹⁴³

They are industrious in farming and weaving Some of them become students and enter schools ¹⁴³ [10a]

¹⁴³ CH'EN Ting who married a daughter of the Lung-chia [Nung-chia] gives a detailed description of women's dress Cf Tien Ch'ien *t'u-ssu hun-li-chi* 5b-4a, T'ANG Tsai fu 592.3 "Les femmes portent de courtes vestes qui ne vont pas plus bas que la ceinture elles ont de longues jupes qui ont cent plus ou parfois deux cents celles qui sont riches en portent cinq l'une sur l'autre celles qui sont pauvres en ont, elles aussi, deux ou trois — Il en est le même pour les hommes — Leurs chemises et leurs caleçons hiver comme été sont en soie Les jeunes filles quand elles se couchent la nuit, n'enlèvent pas (ces vêtements intérieurs) et ne se lavent pas le corps quand elles vont se marier alors elles se lavent puis, une fois mariées elles se lavent tous les jours après le bain elles se frottent avec de l'huile sou ho 蘇合油 (storax) celles qui sont pauvres se frottent avec de la graisse de mouton c'est pourquoi leur peau est comme de la graisse figée Leur chemise et leur caleçon sont rattachés l'un à l'autre par des boutons en or qui se comptent par centaines à l'endroit où les extrémités du caleçon se rattachent aux chaussettes de soie on fait aussi la fermeture avec des boutons ces boutons sont ronds et plats Les femmes pauvres les ont en plomb ou en étain Le soir du jour où les coupes ont été échangées (c'est-à-dire le soir du mariage) on déboutonne les boutons pour la première fois puis quand l'union a été consommée la femme remet ces vêtements comme auparavant, ce n'est que lorsqu'elle a mis au jour un enfant qu'on enlève (ces boutons)" Cf also V. H. T'ao, *Anthropos* 22 (1933) 600

¹⁴⁴ According to CH'EN Ting, the Nung-chia often know the P'o language and writing He speaks of his wife "Des l'âge de jeune fille elle savait la langue P'o 苗 et connaissait l'écriture P'o 苗" (T'ANG Tsai fu TP 6 591) "La vieille intendante était une femme âgée veuve et vertueuse appartenant au clan de la famille Long on l'avait invitée à venir pour s'occuper de toutes les affaires de la maison tout le personnel de la maison obéissant à ses ordres comme elle savait écrire en langue P'o 苗 tout ce qui se passait dans la maison était relaté sur un registre en langue P'o au moyen duquel elle informait mon beau-père et ma belle-mère" (T'ANG Tsai-fu, TP 6 617)

THE KOU-ÊRH NUNG-CHIA

The Kou-êrh Nung-chia Miao, sub-group of the Nung-chia, are found in [the regions of] Chên-ning, the district of Hsing-i and Ta-ting.

The men bind their hair and do not wear head coverings. The women braid their hair into spiral rolls which are pointed like the ears of a dog. They dress in vari-colored garments, and use genuine pearls of different colors for adornment. The poor use pearl-barley as a substitute for pearls.

In springtime, they erect a pole in the country. The men and maidens dance around it and choose mates.¹⁴⁴ After they elope, the maidens' kinsfolk ransom them with cattle and horses. Then the families communicate by means of go-betweens.¹⁴⁵

THE MA-CH'AN NUNG-CHIA

The Ma-ch'an Miao, also a sub-group of the Nung-chia, are found in the sub-prefecture of Jên-huai. Their clothing and customs are the same as those of the Chinese.¹⁴⁶

THE I-TZŪ

The I-tzū are found in [the regions of] Wei-ning and Pi-chieh.

The men shave their heads. The women adorn their hair with switches. They prefer white garments. In both winter and summer, they wear bamboo hats [lined with] white felt.

By nature they are honest and simple and are a good people among the barbarians.

THE YANG-HUANG

The Yang-huang are found in all the following regions: Ting-fan, Tu-yun, Shih-ch'ien 石阡,¹⁴⁷ Shih-ping, Lung-ch'uan 龍泉,¹⁴⁸ and Li-p'ing.

¹⁴⁴ The pole is called "ghost pole" 鬼竿 and the process called "ghost pole dancing" Cf *Yen chiao chi-wên* 4 20a, *Ch'ien shu* 1.23b, and *Huang Ch'ing chih lung t'u* 8 32a, and *T'ung ch'i hsien-chih* 2 3a

¹⁴⁵ The chieftains of the Nung-chia practise polygamy as reported by CH'EN Ting Cf *T'ANG Tsai fu*, TP 6 587

¹⁴⁶ *An-shun fu chih* 15 15b mentions that they use stone coffins in their funerals *T'ung-ch'i hsien-chih* 1 2b states that they use wooden coffins and make stone tombs As to the burial customs of the Kou êrh Nung-chia, the dead are put secretly on the hidden cliffs Cf *Ch'ien shu* 1 23b and *Shuo man* 8a

¹⁴⁷ A prefecture in NE Kweichow

¹⁴⁸ A district, now Fêng-kang Hsien 鳳岡, in NE Kweichow

Their houses are [10b] walled with thatch and without painting or decoration. The doors and windows are not framed. When coming in and going out they use mud to cover the openings.

Their clothing and ornaments are the same as those of the Chinese. The men cultivate land in proportion to the number of people; the women weave cloth to the measure of the body.

In marriage they use cattle and horses as bride money.¹⁴⁹ In mourning they slaughter cattle and horses for sacrifice. They consist of such families as the Yang Lung Chang Shih and Ou 歐.

THE YAO CHIA

The Yao chia Miao are found in Ping yueh.

Both the men and women prefer blue garments. The women work at spinning and weaving and are skilled in dyeing.¹⁵⁰

They take the eleventh moon as the first of the new year. In worshipping ancestors they must have the head of the family lead the sacrifices.

By nature they are mild and docile and do not like fighting. They are industrious, economical, and quietly they suffer poverty without being thieves and robbers. Recently some of them have also become students.

THE HSI MIAO

The Hsi Miao are found in all the regions of Ping yueh, Huang ping, Weng an, Ching ping and Ku-chou.

The men bind their heads with blue cloth and wrap their legs with white cloth. The women tie their hair around their heads and on top insert wooden combs.

Each year in the tenth moon after the harvest they herd bulls onto level ground—three or five from each stockade. They invite those who are good singers and magicians. These wearing large felt robes gathered about the waist and leather boots and large felt hats lead the van. A hundred and some tens of couples of boys and girls [11a]

¹⁴⁹ Both *Ch'en shu* 1 23a and *Ta Ch'ng : tung chih* 331 18b state that the Yang-huang use dogs as gifts in marriages and mourning.

¹⁵⁰ The maidens of the Yao chia at the age of thirteen or fourteen begin to build and live in the houses on piles situated alone in the fields. When the young men come they sing together with the maidens, become affectionate and have intercourse. Cf. *Ch'en shu* 1 18b, *Shuo-man* 4b and *Pai Ch'ng-chiao*. *Miao ru ch' in Hsiao-fang-hu ch'ai* 8 73b.

dressed in blue with colored sashes, follow together in the rear. After this has continued for three days and nights, they slaughter the bulls for sacrifice. This is called gratitude for a plentiful year 災豐年¹⁵¹. On New Year's Eve, each family offering chickens and wine, calls the surnames and personal names of the old and young of the whole family. This is called calling souls 叫魂.

By nature they are sincere and law fearing. They seldom wrangle or engage in litigation. There are such families as the Hsieh 謝, Ma 馬, Ho 何, Lo 羅, and Lu 盧.

THE TUNG [EASTERN] MIAO

The Tung Miao are found in the regions of P'ing yueh and Ma ha.

They have clans but no surnames. In garments they prefer light blue. In length these do not reach the knee. They use colored kerchiefs to bind their hair. The women wear flowered garments without sleeves, which are in two parts covering [the body] in front and in back. They wear finely pleated short skirts.

"The Moon Dance" is the same as that of the Hua Miao.

On Mid autumn day they sacrifice to their remote ancestors and to those of their near or distant kin who have died. They select bulls with symmetrical heads and horns as the best. They continually feed them with water and grass. When the crops are ripe and the bulls are fat, they brew liquor, slaughter the bulls, and summon their kin to gather in drinking and singing. Ghost masters [magicians] are invited to the house of the headman. They spread wine and delicacies on wooden planks and call in order the names of the ghosts. This is done throughout a day and a night. In spring [11b] they hunt in the mountains. When birds are captured, they also must be used for sacrifices.

They fear to appear before the authorities. When there is [question of] unfairness [among themselves] they harken only to the decision of the village elders. In busying themselves in public affairs and in giving service they are comparable to good people.

THE TUNG CHIA

The Tung chia Miao are found in Wei ning. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix D.

THE LI MIN-TZŪ

The Li min tzū are found in Shui-ch'eng Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Tung-chia

THE LAO-T'U

The Lao-t'u are found in Wei ning Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Li min tzū

THE LO-KUEI

The Lo-kuei are found in [the regions of] An shun, Chên ning and Ping yüan

By nature they are stupid The men all shave their heads Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese In color they prefer blue They use blue cloth to wrap their heads

In marriage they communicate by go-betweens In sickness they take no medicine, but engage in prayer

THE LO-LO

The Lo-lo are found in all [the following regions] Lang tai, Yung ning Ch'ien hsi, Shui-ch'eng, Pi-chieh, Hsing i, the district of Hsing i An nan, the sub-prefecture of P'u an, and Jen huar

The men dress in blue and white cloth The women braid their hair and wrap their heads with blue cloth [12a] and wear plum flowers [in their hair] In their ears they hang large silver earrings Their [upper] garments and skirts are both long Their skirts are made of more than twenty pieces of cloth¹³

¹³ Cf. Tien An 12 2a. G. SOULIÉ and CHANG I-shu BEFEO 8 335 "Les hommes [the Lo-lo] portent le chignon et se pèlent le moustache et la barbe ils portent à droite et à gauche deux sabres aiment les batailles et n'ont pas peur de la mort

"Ils trouvent leurs chevaux plus beaux quand ils ont la queue coupée Leurs selles n'ont pas de tapis les étriers sont en bois creusé en forme de queue de poisson on peut à peine y placer les orteils

"Les femmes portent les cheveux dénoués les habits sont de couleur foncée les femmes nobles portent aussi (comme vêtement de dessus) des étoffes de brocard, et les pauvres des peaux de mouton Pour monter à cheval elles s'asseyent de côté

"Les jeunes filles portent de grandes boucles d'oreilles elles coupent leurs cheveux à la hauteur des sourcils leurs jupes ne cachent pas les genoux"

However E. Colborne BAKER's account of women's dress among Szechwan Lo-lo is nearer to our text. "Their hair was twined into two tails and wound round their heads; they wore jackets and flounced and pleated petticoats, covered with an apron and reaching to the ground" (*Royal Geographical Society Supplementary Papers* 1 [1882], 62)

In marriage they use horses for bride money.¹⁵³ When some one dies, they select an open field and erect a high canopy which is called the carriage of the aged 翁車. The kin use cattle and wine for sacrifice. They cry and weep to show their grief. The mourners each lead their sons or younger brothers and, holding bamboos in their hands, circle around. In sickness they take no medicine but trust to witchcraft and ghosts.¹⁵⁴

By nature they are obstinate and stubborn, yet they know how to keep the laws.¹⁵⁵ Those who live in Jên-huai have the same customs as those of the Chinese. Those who live in the sub-prefecture of P'u-an are called Kang-i [Strong Barbarians] 剛夷.

THE HEI LO-LO

The Hei Lo-lo are found in all [the following regions]: Ta-ting, Weining, Chên-fêng, the district of P'u-an and the sub-prefecture of P'u an.

The people have sunken eyes, are tall in stature, and dark in complexion, have white teeth and hooked noses.¹⁵⁶ They shave off the mustache but preserve the beard.

¹⁵³ The symbolic form of marriage by capture is practised among the Lo-lo Cf E C BAKER, *Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers* 1.68-9 and S R CLARKE 130-1 The Lo-lo also practise the levirate Cf *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 17b and *Man-szu ho chih* 2 3b

¹⁵⁴ Cf *T'ien hsi* 12 2a G SOULIÉ and CHANG I-shu, *BEFEO* 8 336, "Quand ils sont malades, ils n'appellent pas le medecin et ne prennent pas de médicaments Ils ont recours à des sorciers sauvages pour dire des prieres" Cf also *T'ang shu* 222C 18b, 20a and A F LEGENDRE, *TP* 10 (1909).401-11

¹⁵⁵ The Lolo have their own language and writing Cf *T'ang shu* 222C 20a *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 17b says the Lo-lo writing is similar to Mongol writing Cf *T'ien hsi* 12 2b G SOULIÉ and CHANG I-shu, *BEFEO* 8 336 "Ces barbares ont des livres sacres, ils sont tous ecrits en caracteres ts'ouan, dont la forme ressemble a celle de nos caracteres K'o-t'cou (a forme de tetard), ceux qui les connaissent bien peuvent savoir les phenomenes meteorologiques et prevoir le beau et le mauvais temps" The Ts'uan writing is probably identical with the Lo-lo writing Cf Paul PELLIER, *BEFEO* 4 154-5 HENRI CORDIER has made a summary of the study of Lo-lo manuscripts in *TP* 8 627-34 Cf also Paul VIAL 41-65, Cf MADROLLE, *TP* 9 (1908) 560, YOUNG CHING-CHI, *L'écriture et les manuscrits lolos* 14 63 and *Yun-nan Lo-lo tsu ti wu shih chi ch'ü ching tien*, Canton, 1931

¹⁵⁶ The physical appearance of the Lo-lo seems to be different from the Chinese as noticed by our author Cf the discussions in the following works E C BAKER, *Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers* 1 60-1, S ZABOROWSKI, *Bulletins et memoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* (5e série) 1 (1900) 557-8, S ZABOROWSKI, *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie* 15 (1905) 86 7, Major H R DAVIES 365-6, 389, A F LEGENDRE, *Bulletins et memoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de*

They wrap their heads with blue cloth and, gathering their hair, bind it on the forehead into a fork-shaped horn¹³⁷ The garments are short with large sleeves

Ordinarily they domesticate horses and are fond of galloping They are practised in using javelins and spears, and engage in archery and hunting¹³⁸

Paris (6e Série), 1 (1910). 77 91, V K TING, *China Medical Journal* 35 161-7, A C HADDON 114, L. H. Dudley Buxton 155 7 TORII Ryūzō *Jinrugaku* 300-1, 415, and Ting Wen-kiang (V K TING), *Anthropos* 29 (1933) 659 77

¹³⁷ Cf E C BARN, *Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers* 1 61 "With very rare exceptions the male Lolo rich or poor, free or subject, may be instantly known by his horn All his hair is gathered into a knot over his forehead and there twisted up in a cotton cloth so as to resemble the horn of a unicorn The horn with its wrapper is sometimes a good nine inches long" He continues (1 61-62) describing a characteristic mantle "The principal clothing of a Lolo is his mantle, a capacious sleeveless garment of grey or black felt gathered round his neck by a string and reaching nearly to his heels In the case of the better classes the mantle is of fine felt—in great request among the Chinese—and has a fringe of cotton web round its lower border For journeys on horseback they have a similar cloak differing only in being slit half way up the back, a wide lappet covering the opening lies easily along the loins and croup of the horse The colour of the felt is originally grey, but becomes brown black or black, in process of time It is said that the insects which haunt humanity never infest these gabardines The Lolo generally gathers this garment closely round his shoulders and crosses his arms inside His legs, clothed in trousers of Chinese cotton, are swathed in felt bandages bound on with strings and he has not yet been super-civilized into the use of foot gear In summer a cotton cloak is often substituted for the felt mantle The hat, serving equally for an umbrella is woven of bamboo in a low conical shape, and is covered with felt Crouching in his felt mantle under this roof of felt the hardy Lolo is impervious to wind or rain"

¹³⁸ Li Yüan-yang has made a summary of the two main groups in Yunnan in his *Yun-nan f'ung-ch'ih* 16 8a b "The barbarians 夷 of the Southern states, whose divisions cannot all be named and remembered are in general of two groups those who live beyond the Black River are called P'o, and those who live this side of the same river are called Ts'uan The P'o consist of more than one hundred groups and the Ts'uan also of more than seventy groups By nature the P'o are tender and timid, but the Ts'uan strong and harsh The P'o can endure heat and like to live in the lowlands while the Ts'uan can endure the arid humidity and those of the lands The occupations of the P'o are weaving and agriculture and those of the Ts'uan cattle raising and hunting The P'o follow the commands of their chieftains death to those who commit adultery punishment to the families of those who steal Therefore, nothing lost on the road is picked up by others and the outer doors are not closed [an idiomatic expression meaning peace] Although the Ts'uan have chieftains, yet they live intermingled with the people of the prefectures and districts and learn the habit of cheating Therefore, there exist continually the vices of adultery and theft and disturbances often arise"

THE PAI LO-LO

The Pai Lo-lo are an ignoble group among the Lo-lo.¹⁵⁹ They are found in all [the following regions]: Ta-ting, Wei-ning, Chên-fêng, P'u-an and the sub-prefecture of P'u-an. [12b]

For eating and drinking they have no dishes or bowls. They use three-legged cauldrons and, singeing off the hair or feathers, they gnaw [meat that still has] blood. No matter whether it be mice, sparrows, ants' eggs, wingless locusts or such wriggling creatures, gathering and roasting them, they eat them like swine.

When people die, they use cow or horse hide to wrap them and burn them.¹⁶⁰

They trade in tea as an occupation. By nature they are strong and fond of liquor, yet they know fear of the laws.

THE PU-NUNG

The Pu-nung were a group under NUNG Chih-kao. They are found in [the regions of] Lo-hu and Kuei-hua.

The men wrap their heads with blue cloth, and use blue or dark blue cloth to make their clothes. The women use white cloth for their upper garments and blue cloth for their skirts.

They shave their heads. They understand Chinese. They take the twelfth moon as the beginning of the year. The men and women feast merrily, blowing reed organs and singing songs for entertainment. Their customs are in general the same as those of the Chung-chia.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Cf E C BABER, *Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers* 1 67. "The word 'Black-bone' is generally used by the Chinese as a name for the independent Lolos, but in the mouth of a Lolo it seems to mean a 'freeman' or 'noble,' in which sense it is not a whit more absurd than the 'blue blood' of Europeans. The 'White-bones,' an inferior class, but still Lolo by birth, are, so far as I could understand, the vassals and retainers of the patricians—the people in fact." The Black bones are the Black Lo-lo and the White-bones are the White Lo-lo. Cf also A LIÉTARD 11-14. However, in Kweichow, S R CLARKE says, "The lairds are all of them Black Nosu [the term the Lo-lo call themselves], and the White No-su are their serfs or slaves" (*Among the Tribes of South-West China* 123).

¹⁶⁰ Cremation is the usual method of disposal of the dead among the Lo-lo. Cf Tien hsi G SOULIÉ and CHANG I shu, *BEFEO* 8 337, 338, 340. This practice has been known from an early date and is widespread. Cf *Hou-Han shu* 116 25a, *Sui shu* 82 2a, FAN Ch'ò [fl 860], *Man shu* 8 3a, FANG fêng, *I su kao* 6b, and *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 18a.

¹⁶¹ The Pu nung are a sub-group of Nung-chia, also descended from NUNG Chih kao. See notes 44 and 53. They, like the Chung-chia, live in houses on piles. Cf Tien hsi

THE TZŪ-CHIANG MIAO

The Tzū-chiang Miao are found in P'ing-yüeh and Wêng-an.

They make light of their life and are fond of fighting. They take the eleventh moon as the beginning of the year. At the period of the New Year, they close their doors and observe the tabus. After seven days, they open the doors. To break the tabus is considered unlucky.

They understand Chinese. Some of them also become students.
[13a]

THE CH'I-LAO

The Ch'i-lao are found in all [the following regions] Kuei-yang, Hsiu-wên, An-shun, Langtai, Yung-ning, P'u-ting, Ch'ing-chên, Ta-ting, Ch'ien-hsi, the sub prefecture of P'u-an, Yu-ch'ing, Chên yuan, the district of Chên-yuan, Tsun-i and T'ung-tzū

The men wear blue and dark blue clothing and the women long upper garments and short skirts. They themselves weave pueraria fibres to make them. They wear cloth sashes and do their hair in a roll and insert combs.¹²²

In marriage they use cattle for the bride price. By nature they are firm but fear the laws. Also they are able to study books and to learn crafts. As for those who live in Tsun-i and T'ung-tzū, their clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese.

12 16b G SOULIÉ and Chang I-shu, *BEFEO* 8 361 "Ils habitent des maisons à étage, ils n'ont ni bancs, ni tables, et s'asseyent à terre sur des nattes, ils laissent leurs souliers au bas de l'escalier avant de monter." This type of house is called by the name of Ma-lan 麻欄. Cf Marquis M J L d HERVEY DE ST DENIS 2 260-1 "Les Ma lan, ou habitations des Si youen-man [Hsi yuan Man 西原蠻 from whom the Nung-chia were derived] n'ont qu'un seul étage au-dessus de celui qui repose sur le sol. Elles sont faites de bambou et de paille et surmontées d'une sorte de terrasse. Le rez-de-chaussée est occupé par les boeufs et les porcs et l'étage supérieur par les habitants, qui couchent sur des peaux des boeufs et s'accoutument à respirer ainsi une continuelle odeur de fumier. Le pays renferme beaucoup de tigres et de loups dont les attaques fréquentes entretiennent l'inquiétude dans les bourgades aussi bien que dans les habitations isolées." The Ch'i-lao Chung-chia and Chuang jen have the same types of houses. See notes 134 167 and 177.

¹²³ The Ch'i-lao have been recorded as a group who tattoo their bodies. The early Chinese records mention tattooing groups of southern barbarians. Cf *Li chi* 5 Cou-
vreur 1 293, *Hou Han shu* 116 5b 17b, 18b, *Sui shu* 82 1a, Tu Yu (733-812), *T'ung tien* 187 27a 28a, *Man shu* 4 9a b and *T'ang shu* 222A 10a, 222C 24a. *Sui shu* 82 1a, *T'ang shu* 222C 32a, *Wen hien t'ung k'ao*. Marquis M J L d HERVEY DE ST DENIS 2 119-20, and *Yen-ch'ao chi-wên* 4 23a inform us definitely that the Lao were a group of tattooing people. This practice is similar to that of the P'o-jên, see Appendix E.

THE P'I-P'AO CH'I-LAO

The P'i-p'ao Ch'i-lao are found in [the regions of] Chên-ning, P'ing-yuan and Shui-ch'ing.

Their clothing is simple and rude. The women bind their hair with blue thread. They wear blue cloth sashes on which they sew sea-shells. Their [inner] garments are scarcely more than a foot in length; over these they wear robes. Their robes, square and wide, have openings in the center and are put on over the head. They are short in front and long behind and have no sleeves on the left or right. Their skirts are woven from wool of various colors and also have no pleats.

By nature they are simple and careful. They labor in agricultural pursuits and frequently make plows from metal for a livelihood. [13b]

THE KUO-CH'UAN CH'I-LAO

The Kuo-ch'uan Ch'i-lao are found in An-p'ing and Ta-ting.

The men use pueraria fibres woven with diagonal designs for garments. The women bind their hair with blue cloth in the shape of a pot ring. They wear short [upper] garments and long skirts without pleats.

When sick they invite witches who, taking a tiger's head and adorning it with paper of different colors, place it in a bamboo sieve and pray to it.

In burial they place the dead body on the side. This is said to cause the ghost not to know how to return home.¹⁶³ They are characterized by a fondness for liquor and an aversion to agricultural pursuits.

THE TA-YA CH'I-LAO

The Ta ya Ch'i-lao are found in P'ing-yuan

The women, taking uncured goat hides, weave them into long cash-shaped skirts¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ In many records, the Ch'i-lao are said to use coffins for the dead. Instead of burying them however, they put them on the steep cliffs as high as a thousand feet from the ground. Cf. *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 18a, *Ta Ch'ing : t'ung chih* 330 36a, *T'ung-ch' : hsen-chih* 1 4a, *Ssu ch'uan t'ung chih*, 1812 1814, 61 18a and *Kuang hsi t'ung-chih* 279 12a. This custom is found also among the P'o-jên and Nung-chia. See note 146 and cf. David C. GRAHAM, *Journal of West China Border Research Society* 5 (1933) 78, 7 (1935) 84 89, and 8 (1936) 82.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 18a, *Ch'i-man ts'ung-hsiao* 2a, *T'ung-ch' : hsen-chih* 1 4a *Man-sü ho-chih* 2 3b and *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 8 60a. The cash shaped skirts are fairly commonly worn also by the P'o-jên, Lo-lo, Chung-chia, Hua Miao and Nung-chia. Cf. *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 2 24b, 25a, 36b. C. SAINSON 165, 166, 188, *Ch'u Mêng-chên* [Chin shih degree 1567 1572], *Hsi-nan : fêng-t'u-chi* 6a and *Ch'ien chi* 3 2a.

[A woman] about to be married must beforehand knock out two of her teeth, lest she bring damage to her husband's family.¹⁶⁵ Shaving off the front hair and preserving the back hair is an indication that the woman is married.¹⁶⁶

By nature they are alert and fond of fighting.

THE TA-T'IEH CH'I-LAO

The Ta-t'ieh Ch'i-lao are found in P'ing-yuan. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Ta-ya Ch'i-lao.

THE CH'ING CH'I-LAO

The Ch'ing Ch'i-lao are found in Jên-huai. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese.

THE HUNG CH'I-LAO

The Hung Ch'i-lao are found in Jên-huai. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese. [14a]

THE CH'I-TANG

The Ch'i-tang are found [in the regions] of Hsiu-wên, An-shun and Ta-t'ing.

They shave [part of] their heads and plait their hair. They wear short blue cloth garments and cloth sashes.

Their houses are set above the ground several feet, and are framed

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Ch'i-man ts'ung hsiao* 7a, *Ch'ien shu* 1 21b, *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 8 66a, *Shuo man* 6a and S R CLARKE 15 *Man-sü ho-chih* 4 5b states that in Szechwan, the Lao young men, not the maidens, knock out two teeth at the age of marriage. However, in many other records, the husband and wife is each said to knock out two teeth at the death of his parents and these teeth are put into the coffins as a token of departure forever. Cf. *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 18a, *Ta Ch'ing* 1 *t'ung chih* 330 36b, *T'ung ch'i hsien-chih* 1 4a and *Kuang-hsi t'ung-chih* 279 12a.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. *Man shu* 4 8b in which it is said that when a woman marries, she forms two rolls of hair instead of one in a certain Man group. Ai pi-ta *Ch'ien-nan chih-lueh* 6 8b states that the Ch'i-lao maidens shave their hair in front until marriage, after which it is allowed to grow. Emily G. KEENE, *JNCARAS* 52 (1921) 163-4 states "The hair-dressing of the Miao deserves some attention. Their coarse black hair is very abundant, and while they are girls it is plaited in two long plaits, hanging from close behind the ears to well below the waist. When a girl marries she has her hair coiled into a long horn, which stands out just above and in a line with her shoulder. When she becomes a proud mother, the hair is twisted into a lofty horn rising straight up from the crown of the head like a pyramid."

with large beams, and covered above with pine needles. [The houses] look like palisades for goats and are called goat houses 羊樓.¹⁶⁷

The people are brave and good at fighting.

THE CH'I-TOU

The Ch'i-tou are found in [the regions of] Hsiu-wên, Huang-p'ing, Ch'ing-p'ing and Chên-yüan.

The men coil their hair around their heads. They wear flowered blue garments with large collars. The women wear short garments and do their hair in a roll on the side. They embroider various colors between the breast and sleeves of their garments; and on their backs they wear sea-shells strung like pearls. The people are much given to wine.

THE MU-LAO

The Mu-lao are found in [the following regions]: Kuei-ting, P'ing-yüeh, Huang-p'ing, Wên-an, Tu-yün, Ma-ha, and Ch'ing-p'ing.

The men's clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese.

When married, the husband and wife sleep apart, but after having children they share the same room.

They are crafty, fierce and facile in adjusting themselves to circumstances.

In the first month of winter, they sacrifice to ghosts, using grass to make dragons into which they insert paper flags of various colors. They go into the country to present their offerings.

Some of them also become students and enter schools established by the prefectures and districts. There are such families as the Wang 王, Li 黎, Chin 金, and Wên 文. [14b]

THE YA-TZŪ MIAO

The Ya-tzŭ Miao are found in Kuei-ting. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Ch'ing Miao.

¹⁶⁷ This type of house has three different names: the first is Kan lan 干欄 or 干欄 of *Wei shu* 101 23b, *Chiu T'ang shu* 197 8a, Lo Shih (930-1007) *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-chi*, 976 983, 178 9a, 14a, *Yen-chiao chi-wên* 4 25a, and K'UANG Lu (1604-1650), *Ch'ih ya*, 1635, 1 12b. The second is Ko-lan 閣蘭 as it is called by the Lao of Szechwan, cf *Ssü-ch'uan t'ung chih*, 61 18b, 20b. The third, Yang-lou 羊樓 or goat houses, is mentioned in *Ch'i-man ts'ung-hsiao* 7b-8a, *T'ung-ch'i hsien-chih* 2 2b and *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* 8 60a. The construction is the same as the Ma lan of the Chuang-jên and the Nung-chia. See notes 161 and 177.

THE TUNG [CAVE] MIAO

The Tung Miao are found in all [the following regions]: Kuei-hua, Ssü-chou, Yu-p'ing 玉屏,¹⁰⁹ Chên-yuan, Ch'ing-chiang, Li-p'ing, Ku-chou, Hsia-chiang, K'ai-t'ai and Yung-ts'ung.

Both men and women wear blue and dark blue cloth garments. They are fond of wearing grass raincoats. They keep their hair long and do it in a roll. They do not understand the Chinese language

THE LIU-Ê-TZŪ

The Liu-ê-tzū are found in Ch'ien-hsi.

They prefer white garments. The men do their hair in a conical roll shaped like a conch. The women wear long garments, not skirts.

When sick they often sacrifice to ghosts. In mourning and burial they use coffins.

The men and women are industrious in farming and weaving. Formerly, when sick, they had a custom of digging up the bones of their ancestors in order to brush and wash them.¹¹⁰ This is no longer practised.

THE P'O-JÊN

The P'o-jên are found in [the following regions] Wei-ning, the district of Hsing-i, Chên-fêng, the district of P'u-an and the sub-prefecture of P'u-an.

The men wear blankets and do not bathe.¹¹⁰

They take the twenty-fourth day of the sixth moon as the New Year. On the first and fifteenth days of each moon, they hold fasts

¹⁰⁹ A district in eastern Kweichow

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Chien Miao t'u shuo*. G. W. CLARKE (Appendix in *Across Chrysē*) 2 334. "They [Liu-ê-tzū] bury the dead in coffins. A year after a lucky day is chosen, and the relative and friend are invited to the grave, and a sacrifice of an ox or a sheep with wine is offered. After this the grave is broken up, the coffin opened and the bones are taken out and washed, those which are washed white are wrapped in calico and then buried. After a year or two the bones are again exhumed and washed, thus is done seven times, after which the ceremony is finished. If anyone is sick they attribute it to negligent washing of their ancestors' bones, and go and wash the bones for recovery. They are called Shi ku [Hsi ku] Miao, namely, 'bone-washers'." Cf. also *Ch'ien ch'i* 3 6a and G. W. CLARKE, *Kweichow and Yunnan Provinces* 136-7

¹¹⁰ See Appendix E

and recite Buddhist prayers.¹⁷¹ They understand all the Miao languages.¹⁷² [15a]

THE P'O-ÊRH-TZŪ

The P'o-êrh-tzū are found in Shui-ch'êng. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the P'o-jên.

THE YA-CH'IAO MIAO

The Ya-ch'iao Miao are found in all [the following regions]: Tsun-i, Chêng-an 正安,¹⁷³ Sui-yang, Jên-huai and T'ung-tzū. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese.

THE HUA-TOU MIAO

The Hua-tou Miao are found in Shih-ch'ien. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Chinese.

THE YAO-JÊN

The Yao-jên are found in the region of Li-po 荔波.¹⁷⁴

The men and women prefer blue garments, which in length, do not reach past the knee.

They are industrious in agricultural pursuits. At leisure, they go into the mountains to pick medicinal herbs and travelling among the

¹⁷¹ Cf J SIGURET 145 "A peu pres comme les Birmans ils [P'o jen or Pai i] adorent Sakyamouni 釋迦牟尼 Tous les Pai I au voisinage de la Birmanie ont adopte les prieres birmanes Le bouddhisme de Birmanie est celui du sud Ses canons presentent des differences avec ceux qui sont en vigueur chez les bouddhistes chinois"

¹⁷² Cf CHIU Chang kong, *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum fur Volkerkunde* 18 23 'Wenn Lolo, Tschung kia [Chung-chia] und K'i lao [Ch'i lao] miteinander verhandeln und einander nicht verstehen konnen vermitteln dabei die jen [P'o jen]" Cf also Huang Ch'ing chih kung tu 8 82a Kuei-chou t'ung chih 7 21b and Ch'ien chi 3 4a

The P'o-jen have a system of writing Cf G DEVERIA, *JA* (8e serie) 18 (1891) 369 "La seule peuplade meridionale de la Chine dont le systeme graphique soit incontestablement alphabetique est celle des Pa y [P'o jen] du Yunnan, soit qu'ils laient emprunté au pali, au tibetain ou aux anciens caracteres de l'Assam, nous avons publie un fac simile de leur ecriture a la page 105 de notre volume intitule *La Frontiere sino annamite*" Major H R DAVIES 383 states "The written character of the Chinese Shans [P'o jen] appears to be the same everywhere and does not differ widely from the alphabet used in the Shan states" Cf also F W K MULLER, *TP* 3 (1892) 39 and *TP* 5 (1894) 329 33, Pierre LAFEVRE PONTALIS, *TP* 3 (1892) 55 56, 59 63, and Li Fu 1 61 84

¹⁷³ A department in northern Kweichow

¹⁷⁴ A district in SE Kweichow

villages practise healing. At festival time, they sacrifice to P'an-hu.¹⁷⁵ Mixing fish, meat, liquor and rice, they put it in vessels. The young men and maidens form rows and dance sleeve to sleeve. Those whom they like the men carry off on their backs, and thus they marry.¹⁷⁶

THE PING-JÊN

The Ping-jên are found in all the [following regions]: Tu-yün, Tu-chiang, Tu-shan, Li-po and Li-ping. Their customs and habits are in general the same as those of the Yao-jên. [15b]

THE YANG-JÊN

The Yang-jên are found in Li-po. Their customs and habits are in general the same as those of the Yao-jên.

THE CHUANG-JÊN

The Chuang-jên are found in Li-po. Their clothing and food are the same as those of the Yao-jên.¹⁷⁷

THE LING-JÊN

The Ling-jên are found in Li-po. Their customs and habits are in general the same as those of the Yao-jên.

THE T'UNG-JÊN

The T'ung-jên are found in Li-po. Their customs and habits are in general the same as those of the Yao-jên

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIAO-MAN PEOPLES

THE PREFECTURE OF KUEI-YANG 貴陽

NAMES

Pai Miao

LOCALITIES

Chung-ts'ao chêng-ssü ¹⁷⁸ 中曹正司

Chung-ts'ao fu ssü ¹⁷⁹ 副司

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix C

¹⁷⁶ The customs of the Yao are given in detail in the following books *Miao-fang* pei-lan 9 9a-17a, *Kuang-hsi t'ung-chih* 278 13a 28b, *Ling Zeng seng*; Liu Hsi lan, Yen Fu-hi and SHANG Ch'êng tsu, and WANG T'ung hui

¹⁷⁷ The Chuang jên live in houses on piles called Ma lan, cf *Jen-Chiao chü-wén* 4 24a, *Ch'ia yü* 1 9b, *T'ung-ch'ia Anen-chih* 2 2b and *Kuang hsi t'ung-chih* 278 32b For their marriage customs, see Appendix Bc

¹⁷⁸ Cf *Kuei-yang fu chih* 25 1a

¹⁷⁹ Cf *op cit*

	Kao p'o 高坡
	Shih pan 石板
Hua Miao	Lung ch'ang 龍塲
	Chu ch'ang 豬塲
	Lu ssü 鷺絲
	Yang yen 羊堰
Ch'ing Miao	Mai hsi 麥西
	Chung pa 中埧
	Lu t'ang 蘆塘
Chung chia	A so 阿所
	P ing shan 平山
	Wa yao 瓦窑
Ts'ai chia	Ch'ing yai 青崖
	T'ung mu 桐木
	K'ai hua 開花
Sung chia	Miao p'ai 苗排
	Chang p'ai 掌排
	Pa chia 八甲
Ch'i lao	Pai na chêng ssü 白納正司
	Pai na fu ssü 白納副司
	Ch'i lung 騎龍
	Chia tou [16a] 甲十

THE DISTRICT OF KUEI CHU 貴筑

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Ch'ing Miao	Scattered throughout all the villages, they live intermingled with the Chinese
Hua Miao	
Chung chia	
Ts'ai-chia	
Sung chia	

THE SUB-PREFECTURE OF CH'ANG CHAI 長寨

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung chia	Chi lung 者賃
	Ku lung 谷龍
	Pai t'ou 擺倫
	Ku yang 古羊

Ch'ing Miao	Ch'ang-chai 長寨 Pan-ch'ung 板蟲 Chi-tu 紀堵
Shan Miao	K'u-méng 克孟 Ku-yang

THE DEPARTMENT OF TING-FAN 定番

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Ch'ing Miao	Mo-chou 抹肘 Man-ch'iang 滿強 Ku-pa 谷把 Po-pu ¹¹⁰ 播麥 K'uang-chiu 況九 Shui-niu 水牛
Hua Miao	Man-lao 滿老 Lieh-ma 列馬
Chung-chia	Ti-niang 抵娘 Lao-pu 老麥
Yang-huang	Ta-p'ing 大平

TA-T'ANG 大塘

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung-chia } Hua Miao } Pai-Miao }	They live in various territories administered by native chieftains [16b]

LO-HU 羅斛

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Pu-nung	Kuei-lung 飯零 Ling-chiang 凌蔣 Lu-chiang 淩降
Ch'ing Miao	Mu-yun 母運 Lo-lai 羅賴 Pa-yang 巴羊 Lo-lu 羅路

¹¹⁰ The character 麥 does not appear in both *K'ang-hsi tsü-tien* 康熙字典 and *Chung-hua tsü-tien* 中華大字典 Cf *Kuei-yang-fu chih* 28 6b

THE DEPARTMENT OF KUANG-SHUN 廣順

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hua Miao	Ts'ung-jên li 從仁里
Pai Miao	Lai ko-li 來格里
Ch'ing Miao	Chung shun-li 忠順里

THE DEPARTMENT OF K'AI 開

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hua Miao } Chung-chia }	All live intermingled with the Chinese

THE DISTRICT OF LUNG-LI 龍里

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung-chia	Live mixed here and there among the Chinese
Pai Miao	Tung miao-p'o 東苗坡 Shang-p'ai 上牌 Chung-p'ai 中牌 Hsia-p'ai 下牌
Ch'ing Miao	Yang-ch'ang-ssü 羊場司 Yuan po 元保 Ku-ta 谷大 Kuan-k'ou 關只

THE DISTRICT OF KUEI-TING 貴定

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hua-Miao	Chia-jo 甲苾 Pai-lang [17a] 擺郎 Pai chin 擺金 Pai a 擺阿
Pai Miao	Pai-ch'ing 擺成 Pai-pu 擺卜 Chia-yu 甲佑
Chung-chia	They live in the various villages intermingled with the Chinese

Mu lao	Mu lao 木老
	An Ch'eng 按城
	Tieh lu 鐵爐
	Hua-chia 花甲
Ch'ing Miao	An pi 安比
	Ts'ai miao 菜苗
	Chia su 甲蘇
	Mi k'ung 米孔
	A na 阿那
Ya tzū Miao	Yang lu-ch'ung 楊柳衝
	Lung t'ang wan 龍塘灣
	Lo-yung 羅雍

THE DISTRICT OF HSIU WEN 修文

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hua Miao	Scattered throughout all the villages they live intermingled with the Chinese
Ch'ing Miao	
Ts'ai chia	
Chung chia	
Ch'i tang	
Ch'i tou	

THE PREFECTURE OF AN SHUN 安順

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung chia	Shui t'ang 水塘
	Ta chai 大寨
	Ning ku 甯谷
	Lung t'an 龍潭
Hua Miao	Hsi yao chih 希堯枝
	Kao-chih 高枝
	Shang-chiu chuang [17b] 上九莊
Ch'ing Miao	Êrh-chi 二起
	San chi 三起
	Ssu-chi 四起
	Ning ku-chih 甯谷枝
	Lung t'an-chih 龍潭枝

Ch'i-lao	T'ou-ch'i 頭起 Ning-ku Mu-kuan-chuang- hsia-tuan ¹⁸¹ 沐官莊下段
Nung-chia	Ta-tung-k'ou 大洞口 Tsung-shu 宗樹 T'ao-tui 討對 Mu-t'ou 木頭
Lo-kuei	A-tê 阿得 Ma-lung-wo-chih 馬籠窩枝

THE DISTRICT OF P'U-TING 普定

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Nung-chia	Ta-ch'iao-p'o 大橋坡 Hsiao-chang-kuan-t'un 小張官屯
Hua-Miao	Têng-chan 鐙盞 Ho-p'ing 河平
Ch'i-lao	Shang-li 上里 Kuan-ting-chuang 管定莊 Hei-chai 黑寨
Ch'ing Miao	Hsin-chai 新寨 Ko-li 革利
Chung-chia	A-shêng 阿生 Pai-yang 白秧

THE SUB-PREFECTURE OF LANG-TAI 郎岱

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Ch'ing Miao	Hua-ch'u 花處 Fei-chia 費甲 K'ao-p'êng 考棚
Hua Miao	Wu-t'ung 烏通 Mu-ch'ang 木廠
Chung-chia	Na-sê 納色 Mu-i [18a] 木易

¹⁸¹ Cf. *An-shun-fu chih* 4 36a

Ts'ai chia	Hsi pao 西堡 Chia shih 戛石
Ch'i lao	Lau chih 六枝 Ta chia lung 大戛隴
Lo-lo	Ch'ieh h 佺里 Ping tsu 平租

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF KUEI HUA 歸化

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hua Miao	Hsieh i chih 薛一枝 Ko hseh 革謝 Pa jang 把填
Ch'ing Miao	Chu-ch'ang 豬場 Mo-nan 磨南 Mo-hsiang 磨相
Chung chia	Huo-hung 火烘 Shu ch'ang 鼠場 Kuan chai 官寨
Pu nung	Hung po 紅播 Po-tung ch'ang 播東場
Pai Miao	Yang-ch'ang 羊場 Hsin-chai 新寨 Shih t'ou 石頭
Tung [Cave] Miao	Tsung ti lung ch'ang ¹²² 宗地龍場 Ta ying 大營

THE DEPARTMENT OF YUNG-NING 永甯

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung-chia } Lo-lo } Hua Miao } Ch'i lao }	They live in various regions administered by native officials and intermingled with the Chinese

¹²² Cf op cit 5 12a

THE DEPARTMENT OF CHIÊN NING 鎮甯

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung chia	Huo hung chih [18b] 火紅枝
Ch'ing Miao	A-p'o chih 阿破枝
Hua Miao	Ch'i po 七伯
Pi p'ao Ch'i lao	Pu na chih 捕納枝
Kou írh nung chia	Mu kang chih 木岡枝

THE DISTRICT OF AN P'ING 安平

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Ch'ing Miao } Hua Miao }	Both live in Jou tung li 柔東里 Jou hsi li 西
Chung chia	Left slope of Mt Yun t'ou 雲頭
Kuo chuan Ch'i lao	Hsi po 西堡 Ta lung 大弄
Ts'ai chia	Hsi t'u niu 西土牛

THE DISTRICT OF CHING CHEN 清鎮

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Ts'ai chia	Kuan kou 關口 Hsiao chu 小車 Ta mo ch ung 打磨街
Ch'i lao	Chung chai 中寨 Yang ch ang ho 羊場河
Nung chia	Ku chung 古仲 Ch ang ch ung 長街 Sha tzu po 沙子坡
Hua Miao	Lan tang 濫塘 Hsiao ku lung 小谷籠 Ta ku lung 大谷籠
Ching Miao	Tu men 土門 Hei tu 黑土 Li mu 栗木

Chung chia	Huang hsing 黃星
	Ching shan 青山
	Ta p o [19a] 大坡

THE PREFECTURE OF TA TING 大定

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Lo lo	Ma cho 馬搓
Pai Lo lo	Mu tu 木杜
	I-chueh 以腳
Nung chia	A tung 阿凍
	Kung kuo 工猓
Tsai chia	La pa 臘巴
	Chia kuo 架猓
Chi lao	Hei chu 旱著
	Lo i 落以
Chung chia	A lu 阿路
	Ssu mu 思母
Ching Miao	Huang te 荒得
	Hei-chu 異曲
Hua Miao	Ku kua chueh 姑誇覺

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF SHUI CHENG 水城

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Lo lo	All live intermingled in various stockades within the region
Chung chia	
Pi pao Chi lao	
Tsai chia	
P'o-erh tzu	
Hua Miao	
La pa Miao	
Li min tzu	

THE DEPARTMENT OF P'ING YUAN 平遠

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Nung chia	Kao chia chiao [19b] 高家橋
Hua miao	Chang chung 長衝
Lo kwei	Pa pu 把步

Ts'ai-chia	}	They all live scattered here and there in various stockades within the region.
P'i-p'ao Ch'i-lao		
Chung-chia		
Ta-ya Ch'i-lao		
Ta-t'ieh Ch'i-lao		

THE DEPARTMENT OF CH'EN-HSI 黔西

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung-chia	Kou-chih 溝治 Chung-chai 中寨
Sung-chia	Sung-chia-kou 宋家溝
Ts'ai-chia	Ta-ya 打魚 Ch'uan-hsin 穿心
Nung-chia	Nei-chuang 內莊 Shan-li 善里
Hua Miao	Ch'ung-shan 崇善 P'ai-sha 牌沙
Pai Miao	Hsi-ch'êng 西城 Ch'ih-ts'ai 喫菜
Ch'ing Miao	Hsin-hua 新化 Ta-fa 大發
Ch'i-lao	P'u-ko 普格 I-na 以那
Lo-lo	Lo-yuan 羅園 P'ing-ting 平定
Liu-ê-tzŭ	Sung-chia-kou

THE DEPARTMENT OF WEI-NING 威甯

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Lo-lo	} All live in the various villages within the region.
Pai Lo-lo	
Sung-chia [20a]	
T'ung-chia	
Hua Miao	

I-tzū } Lao-t'u } P'o-jên }	All live intermingled with the Chinese within the region
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THE DISTRICT OF PI CHIEH 畢節

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Lo-lo	Ta-pi 大比 Chia-chia 家夏
Nung-chia	Ta-pi A-shih 阿市
I-tzū	Wan-ch'i 灣溪 Ho-k'ou 河口
Hua Miao	Chia-chia Fa-lang 法郎

THE PREFECTURE OF HSING I 興義

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung-chia	Huai hua li 懷化里 Yung-hua-li 永化里
Lo-lo	Huai li and Tè-h 懷德里

THE DEPARTMENT OF CHÊN-FÉNG 貞豐

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Pai Lo-lo } Hei Lo lo } Chung-chia } P'o jên }	All live intermingled in various villages within the region

THE DEPARTMENT OF TS'Ê-HÊNG 册亨

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung-chia	Ts'ê-hêng [20b]

THE DISTRICT OF HSING-I 興義

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Lo-lo	Kuei-shun 歸順 Kou-ch'ang 狗場

Chung-chia	Nan-li 南里
	Pei-li 北里
P'o-jên	Chung-tso 中左
	Chung-yu 中右
Nung-chia	P'êng-chà 捧鮮

THE DISTRICT OF AN-NAN 安南

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung-chia } Nung-chia } Lo-lo }	All live intermingled in various villages within the region

THE DISTRICT OF P'U-AN 普安

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Pai Lo-lo } Hei Lo-lo } Chung-chia } P'o-jên }	All live intermingled in various villages within the region

THE SUB-PREFECTURE OF P'U-AN 普安

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Chung-chia } Hei-lo-lo } Pai-lo-lo } Kang-i Lo-lo } P'o-jên } Ch'i-lao }	All live intermingled in various villages within the region [21a]

THE DISTRICT OF TSUN-I 遵義

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hung-t'ou Miao } Ya-ch'iao Miao } Ch'ing-t'ou Miao } Ch'i-lao }	All live intermingled with the Chinese within the region.

THE DEPARTMENT OF CHENG AN 正安

NAMES

LOCALITIES

Ya ch'iao Miao Live intermingled with the Chinese

THE DISTRICT OF SUI YANG 綏陽

NAMES

LOCALITIES

Ya ch'iao Miao }
Hung t'ou Miao } Both live intermingled
with the Chinese

THE DISTRICT OF T'UNG TZŪ 桐梓

NAMES

LOCALITIES

Ya ch'iao Miao }
Hung t'ou Miao } All live intermingled
Ch'i lao } with the Chinese

THE DISTRICT OF JEN HUAI 仁懷

NAMES

LOCALITIES

Lo lo }
Hung t'ou Miao } All live intermingled
Ch'ing Ch'i lao } within the region
Hung Ch'i lao }
Ya-ch'iao Miao }

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF JEN HUAI 仁懷

NAMES

LOCALITIES

Ma chan Nung chia }
Live intermingled with
the Chinese [21b]

THE DEPARTMENT OF P'ING YŪEH 平越

NAMES

LOCALITIES

Chung chia T'ang chai 唐寨
Ping chai 平寨
Mu lao Shih pan 石板
Hsi Miao Yang i ssu 楊義司

Tzŭ-chiang Miao	Yang-i-ssŭ
Yao-chia	Kao-p'ing-ssŭ 高坪司

THE DISTRICT OF WÈNG-AN 甕安

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Mu-lao	Wu-mao-ch'ung 烏毛街 Mu-ch'ih 木吃
Hsi Miao	Ya-lung 啞籠 Ku-chi 谷鷄
Chung-chia	Lung-chia 隆家 Hsin-wan 新灣
Tzŭ-chiang Miao	T'ung-mu-ch'ung 桐木街 Pai-ch'i 百溪

THE DISTRICT OF YÜ-CH'ING 餘慶

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Mu-lao } Chung-chia }	Both live intermingled with the Chinese.

THE PREFECTURE OF SSŪ-CHOU 思州

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Shan Miao	Hou-shan-tung 後山洞

THE DISTRICT OF YÜ-P'ING 玉屏

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Tung [Cave] Miao	Live here and there within the region [22a]

THE PREFECTURE OF CHÊN-YÜAN 鎮遠

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Tung [Cave] Miao	Chiung-shui shang-li ¹³³ 邛水上里 Chiung-shui hsia-li ¹³⁴ 邛水下里

¹³³ Cf *Ch'ien-nan chih-lüeh* 12 7b¹³⁴ Cf *op cit.*

Hei Miao	Pao-chin 抱金
	Chin ch'io 絞盾
	Kuei tan 鬼丹
	Kuei ch'î 鬼撒
Ch'i lao	Shang no 上放

THE DISTRICT OF CHU'-YÜAN 鎮遠

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Ch'i lao	Tung shang ch'i 洞上溪
Hei Miao	Miao-tu 苗度

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF T'AI KUNG 台拱

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	Pa kêng t'ang 八梗塘
	Lung p'ien 龍偏

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF CH'ING CHIANG 清江

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Tung [Cave] Miao	Ts'en ko 岑歌
	Hsiao-nan ping 小南平
	Cheng miao-kun 征苗滾
Hei Miao	Liu chi 柳齊
	Fu fan p'ai 富番牌
Pai Miao	Liu yuan 柳袁
	Ku ou 姑歐
	Ku chang 姑章

THE DEPARTMENT OF HUANG-P'ING 黃平

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	Shih-chia 石家
	Pai yang ping [22b] 白楊坪
Mu lao	Lo-t'ien t'un 羅田堡
	Mao-li p'ing 毛栗坪
Hsi Miao	Yai ying t'un 崖鷹堡
	Hui k'eng 灰坑

Ch'i lao	Lo t'ien t'un
	Mao h p'ing

THE DISTRICT OF SHIH PING 施秉

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao } Hua Miao }	Both live intermingled in various villages within the region

SHÈNG-PING 勝秉

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	Live mixed here and there in various villages within the region

THE DISTRICT OF T'IEH CHU 天柱

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hua Miao } Hei Miao }	Both live intermingled in various villages within the region

THE DISTRICT OF AN HUA 安化

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hung Miao	Ssü shih pa ché 四十八析

THE PREFECTURE OF T'UNG JÊN 銅仁

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hung Miao	Shih hsien shang 石峴上 Shih hsien hsia 石峴下 Kou ya 狗牙 Shih ? ¹⁰⁰ ch'í [23a] 石口溪

THE DISTRICT OF T'UNG JÊN 銅仁

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hung Miao	Kuan-men-ch'í 關門溪 Ch'í lao-ch'í 玆佬溪

¹⁰⁰ This character is missing in our text.

P'o-tung 婆洞
 Lao-chung tang 老竹塘
 Mao-chi 毛溪
 Che-sang ping 柘桑坪

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF SUNG TAO 松桃

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hung Miao	Cheng ta hsun 正大汛
	Mai ti hsun 安地汛
	Yen ao hsun 殷安汛
	K ang chin hsun 康金汛
	Pa mao ping hsun 巴茅坪汛

THE PREFECTURE OF SHIH CHIEN 石阡

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hua tou Miao	Live intermingled with the Chinese

THE PREFECTURE OF TU YÜN 都匀

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	All live intermingled with the Chinese
Chung chia	
Ping chia	
Mu lao	
Yang huang	

THE DISTRICT OF TU YÜN 都匀

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei miao	Both live intermingled with the Chinese
Chung chia	

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF PA CHAI 八寨

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	Shang pai 上牌
	Hsia pai [23b] 下牌

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF TU CHIANG 都江

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	Chia chao 甲找
Ping	To lung 彝弄

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF TAN CHIANG 丹江

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	Live scattered among the stockades within the region

THE DEPARTMENT OF TU SHAN 蜀山

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	Pai chiu 擺玖
Chung chia	Wang tui 旺堆
Ping	Yao hui 堯輝

THE DEPARTMENT OF MA HA 麻哈

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	All dwell in the trees or in the jungle shift about without settling permanently
Tung [Eastern] Miao	
Mu lao	
Chung chia	

THE DISTRICT OF LI PO 荔波

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Ping	All live intermingled in sixteen villages within the region
Yang	
Ling	
T'ung	
Yao	
Chuang	

THE DISTRICT OF CHING PING 清平

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	Ta ping li 大平里
	Chou ch i [24a] 舟溪

Mu lao	Men lou 門樓
Hsi Miao	To tang 妥堂
Chi tou	Ma tang 麻塘

THE PREFECTURE OF LI PING 黎平

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Tung [Cave] Miao	All live intermingled in various places administered by native chieftains
Hei Miao	
Hua Miao	
Pai Miao	
Ping	
Kao p o Miao	

THE DISTRICT OF KAI TAI 開泰

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Tung [Cave] Miao	Both live intermingled in the various stockades within the region
Kao p o Miao	

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF KU CHOU 古州

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Shan Miao	Both live scattered in the various stockades within the region
Hsi Miao	
Tung [Cave] Miao	All live intermingled with the Chinese
Chuang jen	
Yao jen	

THE SUB PREFECTURE OF HSIA CHIANG 下江

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Shan Miao	All [24b] live scattered in the various stockades within the region
Tung [Cave] Miao	
Chuang jen	

THE DISTRICT OF YUNG TSUNG 永從

NAMES	LOCALITIES
Hei Miao	All live scattered in the various stockades within the region
Kao p o Miao	
Tung [Cave] Miao	

APPENDICES

A Other Classifications of the Miao Man Peoples

In *Shih chu* the southwestern peoples are classified by means of cultural and economic differences. See note 76 in Chapter 2. From *Hou-Han shu* on the histories have classified these peoples for the most part by localities. LI Yuan-yang [Chin shih degree 1526] has attempted a two fold classification of the P'o 爨 and Ts'uan 爨 [see Chapter 2, note 158] which ignores the Miao. Many scholars give numerous groups of Kweichow aborigines [see note 61 in Chapter 2] without simplification into several main divisions. LO Jao tien does classify the aborigines by sub divisions [see Chapter 2, note 62].

Modern writers have paid more attention to the classification of the southwestern peoples. Since the day of Albert Terrien de LA COUPERIE, who attempted to classify Chinese aborigines by means of languages [cf *The Languages of China Before the Chinese* 37-140 and the Cradle of the Shan Race, in Archibald ROSE COLQUHOUN, *Amongst the Shans* 22-25 (Introduction)], many scholars have dealt with these people linguistically. ALEXANDER HOSIE [cf *Three Years in Western China* 225], SAMUEL R. CLARKE [cf *Among the Tribes in Southwest China* 13] and L. H. DUDLEY BURTON [cf *The Peoples of Asia* 155] give three groups: Miao, Lo lo, and Shan or Chung chia. CAMILLE SAINSON, who deals mainly with the peoples of Yunnan, gives five groups, i. e., the Tai, Lolo Ts'uan, Tibetans, the Miao and Yao, and others [cf *Nan chao yeh-shih* 190, note]. Chef de bataillon BONIFACE has three linguistic groups: those using the Annamite language, to whom the P'o belong, those using Chinese, to whom belong the Miao and Yao, and those who use Lo lo [cf *Étude sur les langues parlées par les populations de la Haute Rivière Claire*, *BEFLO* 5 307-8]. ALFRED LIÉTARD makes a four fold division: Tai, Min chia 民家, Miao, and Tibetans [cf *Les Lo lo p'o* 4]. MAJOR H. R. DAVIES (337) originates an elaborate material of classification. He divides the main non-Chinese languages into three main groups: the Mon Khmer family, to which the Miao and Yao belong, the Shan family, to which the P'o belong, and the Tibeto Burman family, to which the Lo lo belong. His classification has been adopted and modified by V. K. TING [cf *On the Native Tribes of Yunnan*, *China Medical Journal* 35 163-4] who adds the Nung chia, Chung chia, and Ch'i lao to the Shan family. Since then, V. K. TING's classification has been widely adopted. Cf

The China Year Book, Tientsin, 1925, 151 2, Li Chi, *The Formation of the Chinese People* 255 and Lu Tso fu and Lin Hui hsiang, *Lo lo miao-pên t'u shuo* 3

Tai and Shan are alternate terms used alone or combined to denote a whole group of which the Po are members. The Chung chia are generally considered to belong to the Tai Shan group cf G SOULIE and CHANG I shu, *BEFEO* 8 361, note 3, S R CLARKE 89, Commandant C A M C d'OLLONE *Langues des peuples non chinois de la Chine* 15, Alfred LIETARD 4, V K TING, *China Medical Journal* 35 163, and L H D BUXTON 155. C SAINSON 190 note Alfred LIETARD 4, and V K TING *China Medical Journal* 35 163 consider that the Nung chia also belong to the Tai Shan group. As to the Chi lao, opinions differ. Paul PELLIER indicates that the Lao [Chi lao, see note 32 in Chapter 2] differ from the Yao, cf *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde*, *BEFEO* 4 136. G SOULIE and CHANG I shu *BEFEO* 8 359, argue that the language of Chi lao is different from that of the Tai Shan group. V K TING however, connects the Tu lao [Chi lao see note 32 in Chapter 2] with the Shan family, cf *China Medical Journal* 35 163. Most writers consider the Miao and the Yao as related, cf C SAINSON 190 note Cl E MAITRE, *BEFEO* 5 206, Chef de bataillon BONIFACE, *BEFEO* 5 308, Major H R DAVIES 337, and V K TING, *China Medical Journal* 35 163. Some consider that the Yao belong to the Tai Shan group, cf Commandant C A M C d'OLLONE, *Écriture des peuples non chinois de la Chine* 269, Young Ching chi *Observations sur les trois grandes races de la province du Yunnan*, *Revue anthropologique* 43 (1933) 435 and Yen Fu li and SHANG Ch'ung tsu 26. V K TING considered the language of the Chuang as related to the Tai Shan group, cf *Notes on the Language of the Chuang in N Kungsi* *BMFEA* 1 (1929) 61 64. MA Ch'ang shou 190 1 also puts both the Lao and Chuang in the Tai Shan group.

B Marriage Customs

a The Chi lao by Lu Yu (1125 1210) in *Lao hsueh-an pi-chi* 4 5b 6a

'When a young man does not yet have a wife he inserts the feathers of the golden pheasant in his hair. A maiden who has not yet married uses sea shells strung together as a necklace. In marriage, they first secretly become engaged. Then [the young man] waylays the maiden on the highway and forcibly taking her to him takes her to his home. She also struggles and calls for aid. As a matter of fact,

all this is simulated When they have a child, taking bulls and wine they make an offering to the maiden's parents The parents at first also simulate anger and refuse the gifts, but when the neighbors intercede they accept

"They drink wine with their noses [see note 51, Chapter 2 and Appendix Bb in which the people drink wine by sucking through tubes] They drink up to several pints at a time The wine is called Tiao t'êng wine 釣藤酒, the ingredients are not known When the young men and maidens get intoxicated, they gather to dance and sing In agricultural off seasons, they form groups of up to one or two hundred people Clasp each other's hands, they sing songs Several of them blowing reed organs go in front leading them They place jars of wine in the shade of the trees When they become hungry, they do not eat again, but only go to the jars [6a] and, taking wine, drink freely After wards, they sing again At night, when tired they sleep in the fields If they do not feel satisfied after three days, they spend five or seven days before dispersing and returning"

- b A description of the Moon Dance, by Lu Tz'ü yun in *Pei shu hsu yen* (prefaced 1684 and 1686) 3 39a 40b

'The marriage ceremony of the Miao people is called the Moon Dance The Moon Dance is a courtship dance held in the spring When spring sunshine spreads almond trees blossom and willows bud the Miao, like those numerous hibernating squirming worms which dwell in bamboos and caves, more and more begin to wriggle The parents each leading their own children select a good place to assemble for the Moon Dance The fathers and mothers collect on a level terrace On a lower plain of broad marsh ground the sons on the left and the daughters on the right, form separately They feast and make merry together Roasting live animals they eat them with spoons instead of chop sticks In imbibing wine they drink it by sucking through tubes instead of using cups

On the lower plain the young men do their hair in a roll forward and bind it with the Miao kerchief Their upper garments do not reach their waists and their trousers do not cover their knees Where their upper and lower garments meet they bind embroidered sashes They insert at the top of their hair chicken feathers which flutter gently before the wind [39b] They hold fifes which consist of six tubes two feet in length They probably have six different notes

The maidens like the young men also put chicken feathers into their hair rolls. Their hairpins are a foot in length and their rings an inch in diameter. The flounces, sleeves and collars of their clothes all have embroidered borders. The embroidery uses fabrics inferior to those of the Chinese but their ancient patterns are uncommonly delicate and have nothing of the modern style. They string pearls into tassels which they string around their two knots of hair. They string shells into shell chains which swing to and fro on both shoulders. Their skirts are minutely plaited like butterfly wings. The young men wear no skirts with their trousers and the maidens no trousers under their skirts. Where their skirts and upper garments meet the maidens also bind embroidered sashes. They hold bamboo frames made of bamboo strips and decorated with embroidery. These are the embroidered balls. Both beautiful and ugly ones are intermingled.

The girls all hold frames and those who have not yet sung when asked to sing by the people on the terrace never fail to do so. The boys all hold fifes and those who have not yet blown them when asked to play them by the people on the terrace never fail to do so. Their songs are melancholy and beautiful. As the concluding rhyme of each stanza is repeated three times [40a] slowly in order to prolong it the rhythm of the fifes accompanying it to form a graceful [tune] they fade away together. They blow and sing together with hands flving and feet dancing. Through exchanges of glances motion of limbs and tossing of heads their spirits are aroused. First they display intentions of drawing together but then separate. Soon flitting merrily and dancing happily they run in pursuit of each other. During this time a boy will approach a girl but the girl will refuse him; a girl will go to a boy but the boy also will turn away from her. There will be several girls who run in rivalry after one boy but the boy will not know which to choose; several boys will compete for one girl and the girl will not know how to avoid them. There are those who come together and then part and those who having parted still ogle each other. When the eyes consent and the hearts agree the frame is thrown and the fife is blown in response immediately they embrace each other. Thereupon the handsome young men carry off the beautiful maidens while homely ones bear off the homely girls. The remaining ugly young men and the ugly maidens who have not been borne away afterwards cannot but take each other. The most ugly ones who have been carried off by no one at all cry and weep on their way homewards envying [40b] those who have been carried off.

"Those who have taken each other and gone away, crossing ravines and leaping over streams, seek hidden places for intercourse. They loosen their sashes and bind themselves together. Then clasping hands they return to the site of the Moon Dance. Each follows his parents home and afterwards marriage plans are discussed. For betrothal gifts, when they use bulls, the bulls must be of even number, when they use goats, the goats must be of odd number.

"To begin with immoral intercourse and after that to hold the marriage ceremony, this is the practice of Hsun-fei people 徭蜚氏 [cf. Lo Pi, *Lu shih*, (*Ch'ien chi* 前紀) 3 1a 11a] 'Oh! the Miao!'"

- c Marriage Customs of the Chuang, by Chu K'uang ting, *Yao-Chuang chuan* in *Hsiao fang hu-chai*° 8 69a-b

"In the spring time, maidens who have reached marriageable age, gather in groups of three or five in the recesses of a mountain or by the edges of a stream to sing songs and make merry. Young men singing in groups answer them. After this has gone on all day one of the men, in accordance with the choice which is expressed in the song of a maiden, will remain behind [with her]. They exchange gifts with each other. The young man [69b] gives the maiden a shoulder pole on which the words of a song are carved in minute writing. At times birds and grass are painted on it in golden colors and the pole is coated with lacquer to prevent fading. [The shoulder pole] is probably a necessity for the labor of the women and maidens. The maiden gives the young man such things as an embroidered bag or embroidered sash which she herself has made. Thus they are betrothed to be husband and wife. Both inform their parents and then they invite a go between and use betel nuts to bind the agreement. On the day of the wedding those who are welcoming and those who are escorting the bride form a continuous procession on the road. The sound of their songs makes the forests reverberate. When the bride arrives at the home of the groom there takes place the "exchanging of wedding cups." The husband strikes the bride's back with his fist thrice. The bride then draws water, employing the shoulder pole which has been presented her and pours the water into a jar. Shortly afterwards, she returns to her mother's home and does not see her husband. She summons another man—called the 'wild husband' 野郎—to live with her in her parent's house. When she experiences pregnancy, she secretly tells her husband to build the Ma lan. Thereupon she forsakes the

wild husband" and goes back to her husband's home, and they dwell together to their old age. Therefore, the 'wild husband' is also called the 'sad husband' 苦郎. While she is sharing the same chamber with the 'wild husband,' if the real husband should come to the house, he would be considered an adulterer. After she has gone back to live with her husband, if the 'wild husband' should come, he also would be considered an adulterer."

C The Myth of P'an hu 槃瓠

P'an-hu was the mythological dog ancestor of the Yao. Our first record of this myth is found in *Hou Han shu*, 116 1a 2a. "In ancient times, Emperor Kao-hsin was troubled by the banditry of the Ch'uan-jung 犬戎 [a barbarian tribe of the west]. Concerned over their depredations he attacked but did not subdue them. Then seeking the enlistment of any one within the empire who could take the head of General Wu 吳將軍, General of the Ch'uan-jung, he offered the gift of a thousand 鎰 (twenty four thousand ounces) of gold, a fief of ten thousand families, and, in addition, the hand of a younger daughter. At that time, the Emperor had a tame dog whose hair was of various colors named P'an hu. After the promulgation of the order, P'an hu then arrived at the gate of the imperial palace holding in his mouth a human head. When the officials, marvelling, examined it, it was the head of General Wu. The Emperor was greatly delighted but considering that P'an hu should not be granted his daughter in marriage and could not be enfeoffed, he deliberated, wishing to make a reward but not knowing what was fitting. The Emperor's daughter, hearing of it, and considering that the Emperor's order should not be repudiated, accordingly asked his permission to carry out the promise. The Emperor could do nothing but espouse his daughter to P'an hu. Having gained the daughter, P'an hu, taking her on his back, went to the southern mountains, and stopped in a stone chamber situated over a precipice inaccessible to the footsteps of man. Thereupon the daughter took off her clothes, tied her hair into a *Pu-chien* 僕堅 [unintelligible] and donned "Tu li" 獨力 [unintelligible] garments. The Emperor, grieving for her, sent messengers to seek her. Constantly encountering wind, rain, thunder, and darkness the messengers could not proceed. Three years passed and she bore twelve children—six sons and six daughters. After the death of P'an hu the children then married each other. They wove and twisted bark and hides and dyed

them with grass juices. They liked varicolored garments which were cut out in the form of a (?) tail. Afterwards, their mother returned and reported their condition to the Emperor who, thereupon, sent messengers to welcome them all. Their clothing was varicolored and striped. Their speech was unintelligible. They preferred to go to the mountains and valleys and disliked level land. The Emperor according to their wishes endowed them with renowned mountains and wide marshes. Afterwards, expanding and spreading, they were called the Man-i 蠻夷. Outwardly they appeared like simple folk, but inwardly they were clever." Cf. Berthold LAUREN, *The Journal of American Folklore* 30 (1917). 410-20, LI Chi 243-4, Yü Yung-liang 11-17 and Chungshee Hsien Liu 301-2.

D. The Harvest Festival

Cf. *Hu-nan t'ung-chih*, 1882-1885, 40.30b-31b.

"In the tenth moon, after the harvest, the wealthy families or the whole stockade contribute money to buy a fat bull [31a] of pure white. Beforehand they notify the neighbors and relatives, male and female, old and young, to gather to hold a meeting. A shed is built outside the stockade. Both the hosts and guests wear formal garments for the occasion. When the guests have arrived, they fire small cannons in order to drive away bad luck.

"At the time of sacrifice, they bind the bull to a post of various colors. An honorable kinsman is first asked to spear [the bull] with a lance, then the others in turn. Before the spearing, the man who is to be first to spear, must bow to the four directions. Then he raises his lance to thrust. One man carries water during the process of spearing, sprinkling it over [the bull] and he does not let the blood drip on the ground. When the bull falls down, they divine for good and bad luck by noticing the direction of its head. When the head points toward the chamber, they happily talk and congratulate each other, considering that the ghosts will come to enjoy the sacrifice. Otherwise, they all become unhappy, and the hosts, extremely frightened and trembling, think that the ghosts will not taste the sacrifice and will send bad luck.

"The Miao magician is asked to ring the bells and recite prayers. The group all beat drums and gongs, blow horns, and clap hands. They burn a wood fire for the sacrifice. At the end of the sacrifice, they give one shoulder [of the bull] to the person who first speared.

All the others divide the small pieces and eat them. Moreover, they slaughter another victim, singe its hair and cook it. This is called 'fire cooked meat' 火燂肉.

"They place the bull's head in front of the shed. Hollowing long logs and covering the ends with hides, they make drums and ask the beautiful women to beat [31b] them and to dance. The young men and maidens who can sing well are chosen. They all dress in ceremonial robes like actors, wear turbans with folded corners, and hang on their backs two strips cut out of vari colored paper. The young men on the left and the maidens on the right walk around and sing songs. They often sing together in harmony, raising their hands and stamping their feet, fast or slow in accord with the tempo. This is called Tiao lu ts'ang 跳鼓藏. Sometimes persons may win by singing well. The young men and maidens all place valuable things as wagers. The young men offer silk cloth and the maidens clasps and rings. They all form groups to sing in a contest which is carried on throughout the whole night without pause, competing to win. Those who win take away the things. Those who lose feel no resentment. The persons who do not sing well and who dare not join the groups sometimes carry lamps about and sometimes run for things to drink and to eat. After singing, the young men and maidens sit intermingled shout happily, and drink like bulls, getting drunk and satisfied. They play wantonly to the extreme. Some of them who take to each other even have intercourse, which is not forbidden even though known. This is called 'set free' 放野."

E. A Note on the Po jen

CI Tien hsi 12 9a 10a G SOULIE and CHANG I shu BEFEO 8 349
50 "Les hommes [among the Po jen] sont honores les femmes méprisées, même dans le peuple on les considère comme les esclaves de la maison et on les emploie à la culture au tissage et au commerce ainsi qu'à la direction de la maison. Tant qu'elles ne sont pas malades même les plus vieilles ne peuvent avoir de loisirs.

À la naissance d'un fils dans les grandes familles on lave l'enfant à la maison, dans les familles pauvres on va le laver à la rivière. Trois jours après on le présente au père et (la mère) recommence à labourer et à tisser comme auparavant.

"Les chefs ont plusieurs centaines de femmes et plusieurs centaines de suivantes, ceux qui en ont le moins en ont plusieurs dizaines. Les gens du peuple ont plusieurs dizaines de femmes. La jalousie n'est pas

connue chez eux Ils n'estiment pas les filles vierges et, de même que dans le pays du confluent du (Yang-tseu) kiang et de la rivière Han, ils leur laissent toute liberté de se promener, et on ne leur défend de sortir qu'à l'âge de puberté, actuellement, cette coutume (de les enfermer) s'est perdue peu à peu

[349] " Les fonctionnaires et le peuple se rasent la tête et vont pieds nus Ceux qui ne se rasent pas la tête sont décapités par ordre du chef, ceux qui ne vont pas pieds nus sont ridiculisés par tout le monde et on les traite de femmes Les femmes s'attachent les cheveux en chignon derrière la tête et les entourent de toile blanche, elles ont des manches étroites, des habits de toile blanche et des jupes en forme de tonneau, faites de toile noire Les femmes nobles ont des broderies et des brocards, elles enveloppent leurs pieds nus de bandelettes blanches

' Quand un homme est mort, les femmes font des prières devant le cadavre, les parents et les voisins se réunissent au nombre de plusieurs centaines de jeunes gens pour boire et faire de la musique, ils chantent et dansent jusqu'à l'aurore c'est ce qu'ils appellent 'amuser le cadavre' (娛屍), les femmes se rassemblent, et pendant plusieurs jours frappent des mortiers avec des pilons après quoi on enterre le mort Aux funérailles, un parent marche en avant, portant du feu et un couteau, quand (le cortège) est arrivé à l'endroit (choisi) pour le tombeau, on entasse (sur le cadavre) un grand nombre de planches et on brise tous les objets dont il se servait vases, cuirasse, casque, lance, arbalète, etc., puis on les suspend aux côtes de la tombe Après cela, on ne fait aucune cérémonie de prières ou de sacrifice

Chez les sauvages de Lou fong 駱豐, Lo tseu 羅次 et Yuan meou 元謀 les hommes portent des chapeaux de toile noire, des robes de toile blanche aux manches étroites des chapeaux plats, des jupes rondes [cask shaped skirts] ils aiment à habiter des maisons à étage [houses on piles]

350 'Ceux de Yue tcheou 越州 sont surnommés 'Po yi aux pieds blancs' 白脚焚頭 les hommes et les femmes portent tous des vêtements supérieurs courts et des vêtements inférieurs longs Ils se teignent les dents en rouge et se tatouent le corps Ils portent des chapeaux de bambou et vont pieds nus"

Cf also Li Yuan yang's *Yün nan t'ung chih* 16 4b 5a, CH'ÏEN Ku hsun's *Pai i chuan* [prefaced 1398] *Nan chao yeh-shih* C SARASON 161 5 *Hsi-nan i fêng tu chi* 5b 91, Hsu Itang 121-154, and WANG Chieh ching 1211 3

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NAHĀLĪ

A LINGUISTIC STUDY IN PALEOETHNOGRAPHY

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Linguistic groups such as Indo European, which are to day very widespread, were once probably confined to a very small area. And conversely, those which are today nearly extinct may have been dominant over great areas ten to twenty thousand years ago. Scientists may some day be able to connect past peoples and cultures with some of these vanishing languages.

It is with this primarily in mind that attention is here called to Nahālī, a language spoken by a former tribe of hill robbers who now exist only in scattered families, mostly in positions of hereditary watchmen in Nimar, India.

There is, however, a second objective in this study, the observation of the relative stability of different parts of speech. Linguists have generally assumed that the numeral system and the grammar of a language are among its most persistent elements. Yet here is a language which has borrowed every numeral from "two" to "100," and much of its morphology. This is an important point when one considers a language such as Annamese, whose numeral system is probably not Sino Tibetan, yet which Henri MASPERO considered to be probably related to Chinese.

A vocabulary of Nahālī was published by Sten KONOW in the midst of Mundā vocabularies in vol 4 of the *Linguistic Survey of India*. KONOW pointed out that Nahālī contained many words also common to Dravidian or Indic¹ but expressed the view that "the base of the dialect is probably a Mundā language of the same kind as Kurkū."

GRIERSON, in writing the introduction to the *Linguistic Survey of India*,² amplified on the Nahāls: "These people appear to have

¹ Ind c refers to the Aryan languages of Ind a, including Sanskrit.

² 1 pt 1 pp 28-29

originally spoken a Mundā language akin to Kūrkū. It came under Dravidian influence and has become a mixed form of speech, half Mundā and half Dravidian. This, in its turn, has fallen under the spell of Aryan tongues, and is now in a fair way to becoming an Aryan language. If we were to judge by language, a hundred years ago we should have called the tribe Mundā. Ten years ago it was quite possible to claim it as Dravidian, and fifty years hence it would probably be described as an Aryan caste."

And again on p. 29: "The Nahāls are probably Mundā by race, but their present speech is almost Dravidian. Their decadent language is a twofold palimpsest. It first began to be superseded by Dravidian, and now it is being superseded by Aryan."

Now it is only necessary to glance through the Nahāli vocabulary in the *LSI*, to remark that there are many words, particularly for parts of the body and some natural objects, which do not correspond with Kūrkū. Neither do they correspond to any other Mundic language, nor to Indic¹ nor to Dravidian. It was this which attracted the writer's attention to Nahāli.

In the following pages, all correspondences found which might cast any light on the origin and history of Nahāli have been noted. Jules BLOCH has greatly assisted by furnishing most of the words cited from Burushaskī, Indian Gypsy and the Austroasian languages other than Mundic, besides references here and there to Hindustānī, Arabic, Sanskrit and some other languages. Theodore FIELDBRAVE aided with Hindustānī.

The conclusions drawn from the comparisons are:

(1) Nahāli is not and probably was never "a Mundā language of the same kind as Kūrkū." None of the Nahāli numerals are Kūrkū. The Nahāli word for "back" corresponds to Kūrkū, and the word for "tongue" to Mundic. Words for other parts of the body do not correspond to Kūrkū or other Mundic languages, as far as has been ascertained. The words for "fire" and "water" do not correspond to any Mundic language. Other words which correspond to Kūrkū, not a very long list if one excludes Kūrkū

¹ The ending -ian indicates the linguistic family. -ic a subdivision of the family, and -ish a group within the subdivision. Individual languages have no specific endings.

borrowings from Indic, have probably been borrowed by Nahālī at a late date. They differ in such unimportant phonetic details that they seem to be merely poorly recorded words of the same pronunciation in both Nahālī and Kūrkū. Kūrkūs, Aryans, and Nahāls live in Nimar and the first two have probably had considerable influence on the culture and consequently on the vocabulary of the Nahāls. The Nahālī vocabulary is far from being half Mundā, however, as stated in the *LSI*.

(2) If one were to judge by the total number of words or morphological elements common to Indic and Nahālī, regardless of the character of the words, one must conclude that the borrowings from Indic are by far the more numerous. But from the nature of the words and from the fact that many, perhaps most, of them are identical or practically identical with Hindustānī, one may infer that the story of the Prodigal Son, and perhaps the vocabulary, is a translation from Hindustānī and probably does not represent the actual state of the Nahālī language at the time recorded,—that is, it has not been so Aryanized as one might be led to believe.

(3) The Dravidian element consists only of the numerals two to four and a few scattered words or grammatical elements. With the incomplete data at hand on Nahālī, one may infer that the Nahāls have not been in cultural contact with the Dravidians for any length of time. It is possible that, while still in a very low state of culture, they had commercial relations with the Dravidians and borrowed the numerals for "two," "three" and "four" from the latter at that time.

(4) Despite some apparent correspondence between Nahālī and Tibeto-Burmic, there is no genetic relationship between the two, unless it can be established that there is such a relationship between Austroasian and Tibeto-Burmic.⁴ The apparent correspondences are probably accidental.

(5) While the base of the languages is not Kūrkū, nor even Mundic, that does not mean that it is not Austroasian. Judging

⁴The writer has worked out many phonetic equations for nearly all of the Tibeto-Burmic groups. Most TB languages can be recognized as such at a glance, and Nahālī is certainly not one of these.

from the maps, the Nahāls are roughly about 900 miles from Khasic territory, 1200 miles from the Mon and 1300 miles from Palaungic. Yet there are many common words in Nahālī which show a close resemblance to corresponding words in these and even Austronesian languages. With such scanty Nahālī materials, not accurately recorded, one may not state definitely that Nahālī is an outlying language of the Austroasian grup. One argument against such a conclusion is that no parallels have yet been found for a considerable number of Nahālī verbs.

(6) The history of the Nahāls, indicated by the language as we know it, may be surmised^a to be as follows. That there was a proto-Nahalian group, judging by the verbs. That the proto-Nahalians came under the dominating influence of the Austroasians, probably most of the vocabulary becoming Austroasian during that period. That subsequently, probably while the Nahāls had a low state of culture, they entered into commercial relations with the Dravidians and adopted from them the numerals for "two" to "four" and a few other words. That finally they came into contact with the Kūrkūs and Indic peoples in Nimar where they now live, adopting many words of all kinds and much of the grammar from one or the other of these dominant groups.

(7) Nahālī shows that numerals and morphology can be relatively unstable, while verbs and perhaps words for parts of the body and natural objects are retained longer.

^aThis is, of course, only a tentative surmise. Much more accurate and complete recordings of Nahālī are needed to establish a definite history of the Nahāls. Such recordings should be made at once before the language becomes extinct. They should include, not translations into Nahālī, but if possible, native tales, traditions or songs which are more likely to preserve the archaic native words. Old and little Aryanized informants should be selected.

The value of such studies of Nahālī lies not in the present importance of the Nahāls but, as suggested above, in the possibility that they once were more powerful and covered a greater area than today and that many of the ethnic and linguistic problems which have been considered as due to Dravidian, Tibetan or Mundic may have been due to pre-Nahālian (or Nahālic, if the language proves to be related to some other known language). Perhaps this is the case with some of the correspondences noted between Nahālī, Indian Gypsy, and Pishachic. A possible north Asiatic origin (Manchuria?) should not be overlooked as materials on the languages of that area available to the writer are limited.

Since the only Nahālī material published is that in the *LSI*, all the words and grammar from the vocabulary and text are assembled below with notation of all apparent borrowings and parallels. If Nahālī is the remains of a language unrelated to any known, some of the words considered as borrowings may, of course, be accidental resemblances. The writer has not hesitated to go far afield geographically in noting correspondences; for while only one or two correspondences with a distant linguistic group may be noted here, some other linguist, more familiar with that area, may be able to add others which will eventually establish Nahālī's relationship.

The phonetic system employed here is that of the *LSI*, where the consonants are pronounced approximately as in English, but the dentals and affricates are more palatal than in our speech. *t*, *d*, etc., are cerebrals as in Indic, and the vowels are approximately those of German with the exception of *a* which is the *a* of our word "America," a mixed, middle, unrounded vowel almost like German *e* in *Gabe*.

KONOW does not discuss the phonetics of Nahālī or the name of the informant or the person who collected the material—whether he is native or European. The collector was evidently familiar with cerebrals since he notes them, but not uniformly. There occur, for example, *khurī* "foot" (vocab.) and *khudī* "feet" (text), which are evidently the same word; *ērī* "went" (pl.) and *ēdē* "went" (sg.), which are also obviously the same word (for the interchange of *ē* and *ī*, see below); *pāt* and *pāt-* "come"; etc. The Nahālī cerebrals may not be so far back as in the majority of the languages of India (tip of tongue against palate), but more nearly as in the Assamese or English dentals (apical-alveolar). At any rate, it seems probable that cerebrals are more extensively used in Nahālī than is indicated in the vocabulary or text.

Nahālī probably has an open palatal vowel of the upper middle series, that is, between the *i* of the English *pin* and the *é* of French *été* (farther back and lower than the former and more forward and higher than the latter). It is usually recorded as *ē* or *ī*, sometimes as *i* or *y*. It occurs in the locative-dative post-

position which is recorded *-kī* or *-kē* about an equal number of times. It is also found in the verb ending recorded *-ī* and *-ē* about equally. The third person pronoun is usually recorded *ētarē* but occurs twice as *itarē-* (once in *itarē-ghālja*, translated as "therefor"); but when combined with another third person pronoun, *hō*, it is transcribed *hoytarē* (ten times) and *hoitarē*, *hoitarē* (once each). Other examples will be noted in the vocabulary which follows.

The sonants are probably more nearly semi-sonant, in the widest meaning of the term; for a frequent interchange of sonants and surds occurs in the transcriptions: *chogumṭā* and *jogomṭa* "swine"; *-kā* and *-gā*, verb ending; etc.

The phonetic system employed in the *LSI* is that used in transcribing Sanskrit, with minor modifications. In transcribing Sanskrit, the vowels marked long not only represented a certain phoneme but were actually long. That this is no longer true of modern Indic languages we may infer from T. Grahame BAILEY's description of Hindustānī. The above mentioned method of marking vowels causes no serious difficulties in recording modern Indic languages, since vowels marked long usually were long at one time. But a transcriber in the phonetic system of the *LSI* seems to have been in a dilemma in recording some of the non-Aryan languages. Sometimes he might hear an *a* like the *a* in *father* but shorter, and sometimes an *e* like the *e* in *men*, or *i* as in *pin*, or *a* as in *America* which were long. In both instances, he seems often to have fluctuated between using the sign of length and leaving it off. In the verb which is usually recorded *kādinī*, but sometimes *kēdinī* or *kedinī*, one suspects that the first vowel was that of *a* in *America* but long.

But for lack of a precise phonetic description, it has been necessary to follow the original, giving such variations as occur. If one bears in mind what was written above on cerebrals and on the vowel which is sometimes recorded as *ī*, *i*, *y*, and sometimes as *ē*, the parallels cited below will be clearer:

VOCABULARY *

age, *umar*. H. *'umr* < Pers. < Arabic.

all, (1) *sab*; *sab-ī-kun* "all-from." * H. *sab*, Skr. *sārva*-. (2) *sagā-nīkā* "all-of." H. *sagrā* < Skr.; Juāng *nikā* "all."

angry, *khiḡ-ī-jā* * "(he) got angry." K. *khiḡ*; I. *khiḡ*-, *khiḡh*- < Skr. (BLOCH 319).

are. See be.

arise, *b-ī*, *b-ēi-kē* "arose."

ask, *bichāw-ē* "asked," *bīchā* "why?" Marāthī *vichār*-, *vitsār*- "to ask."

ass, *gadhā*. Mundic; I. < Skr. (BLOCH 321); Kurux *gadhā*, Gōndī *gadhāl*, Telegu *gādide*, Kui *godo*, Malto *gada*-.

back, (1) *bhāwdī*. K. *bhaurī*. (2) back (of horse), *jār*- (occurs in sentences nos. 227, 230, once not translated). Pōgulī (Kāsh-mīrī) *charh*-.

bad, *ēj-ē*? *pērījāndā* "bad girl" seems to be a contraction of *perījo* "daughter" and *ējē rāndā* "bad boy."

be, (1) *b-ī* "(what) is (mine); perhaps also occurs in *ibir-ē* "is" (sentences), and *ātāi-bin-ī* "how many are there (in house)?" Manchu *bi*-. (2) *hēl-ē* "am (not worthy)." (3) *o* "was, were" (with first and second pers. prons.). (4) *tā* "was, were."

beat, *koṭṭo* "beat, to beat," *koṭṭo-bē* (imperat.), *koṭṭo-gā* (pres. with second and third pers. prons.), *koṭṭ-e-gā* (pres. with first pers. prons.), *koṭṭo-ken-kā* "(I) shall beat," *kōhaṭu-ken* (fut.), *kōhaṭī* (past), *koṭṭī*- (passive; past or past indefin.). II. *kūt-nā*, W. Paharish: Panggwūlī *kutt*-, Pādarī *kōṭ*-.

because, *irkēn-ē*? Appears to be a verb; may be fut. of "go."

before, (1) *chain-ī*? (2) *chhāmā-kī* "before (me)"; perhaps same as following: (3) *sāmnē* "before (father)." Birhār, Dhang-

* Any Nahāli words not found in the vocabulary will be found in the sentences or text. Hindustāni words are usually from Fournier's dictionary when not otherwise noted. Other comparisons may usually be found in the LSI when not otherwise noted. Abbreviations: Dr., Dravidian, I., Indic; K., Kōrkū, II., Hindustāni, TB, Tibeto-Burmes. Verbs will be found under the English root form.

* Perhaps with the "verbal" suffix -ē, -ī. See GRAMMAR.

gâr samân, Pañjâbî sāmne, Kanggrā samhne, vernac H
 sahāmī, Dakṣinī sāmne, H sāmne < Skr
 behind, pachhla, pachhal- Khīndeshī (Bhili) pachhadi, H
 pichhlā "hindmost," Gujarātī pachhal, I pachh-, pachh-,
 pichchh- "behind"

belly, popo, popō (redupl from po?) Cf Wār Khāsī -po,
 Standard Khāsī ku po', Khmer pōh, Kukish po

bind, boḥk : be "bind (with ropes)"

bird, poya tā (really pl in ta?) Sho (Kukish) pāyo

boy, (1) randa (2) See son

brother, (1) dāda "elder brother" K, Kherwārī, I (2) sanu

"younger b-" K of Chhindwārā and Nīmar sanī "small (of
 children), Eur Gypsy sano "fine, small," Kumaonī syano
 "childish," Sindhi sanho "fine, minute," Pa sanho "smooth
 small," Skr slakṣṇah "slippery, tender, small" (Turner)

(3) dayare "younger b"

bull, baddi Ind Gypsy Qasāī pada, Kanjarī and Sīkalgarī of
 Belgaum pado, H bardh, baradh < Skr

buy, ko o-e (written ko oe) "bought" Chinese ko, ku "to sell,
 to buy" (Karlgren)

call, ulachh : "(a servant) was called (near)"

camel, unṭu ta (really a pl in -ta^o) K unto, Korwa unt, most
 Kherwarish dials ūt, Gondī unt, Kurux unt, Kanarese onṭe,

Kaikādī vantī, I ūt, utth, etc, Skr uṣṭra (Williams)

cat, berku Kanarese bekk^u < *berku, Kurux berxa, Malto berge θ
 child, (1) lana "child, son" Daic lan "grandchild", Prak lanha,

Marāṭhī lahan "little" (BLOCH 379), cf H launda "boy,
 slave, brat" (FORBES) (2) gita "child" (occurs in basī

gita "brother" and bache gita "young son" the first part
 of the compounds means "small") Santālī gidra

cloth, kupra H lapra Kashmirī kapur, Sindhi kaparu, etc
 (BLOCH 309)

cock, komba K, Marāṭhī Standard kombada, Kongkani kombo
 collect, gola ya "having collected (property)" K gola la

"gathered (all)", cf H gol "ball," Skr guṭika "ball"

come, (1) pi-ya (ya v ending) TB pi, Semang pe, Sakai be

(2) char k-e "came" H charh "to come on," Skr char

"to go, to walk, to move, to stir," etc (WILLIAMS) (3) See walk

country, *dech* K *des*, I (BLOCH 353) < Skr See friend
cow, *dhor*, *dhot ta*, *dhat ta* (the last two from *dhor* + *-ta* "pl")

Gondi *dhor* "cattle", H *dhor* "cattle," I

cultivator, *krsan* K, H *kisan*, Indic, but probably very old loan-
word since most I languages do not preserve the *r* Skr
krsana "ploughman, husbandman" (WILLIAMS)

dance, *chana-na* "dance of" < H, I *nach na* by metath?

daughter, *perjo*, *perjo* Mon *preo* "woman, wife" (HALLIDAY
343) See bad

day, *din* K *din*, I

deer, *haran* I *haran* "antelope" < Skr (BLOCH 427)

destitute, *nanga y ja n* "destitute became" H *nanga*, Skr *nag na*
"naked"

devil, *bhut* I < Skr

die, *beto be* "die," *beto ga* "(I) die," *beṭtır* "was dead" Pöğuli
Kashmiri *phat*

distant, see far

divide, *aṭa ya* "(wealth) was divided" K *ata* "share," *aṭa*
"bread," K of Chhindwara *ata* "share, bread"

do, *kama ya* "did (sin, service)" K *kamo* "(thy) work" Kui
kama "work", H *kama na* "to work, to perform, to com-
mit", Skr *karman*, *karma* "work, deed"

dog, *nay* Dr, cf Mongol Buryat *nāxi*, *nākai*, Tungus *inaki*,
etc, Himal TB *naki*, Loloish *-na*, *-no*

down, see inside

draw, *leiñ jo-be* "draw (water)" Cf *jo po* "water"

dress, *phena tinka* H *phun na*, *phan na* "to dress"

drum, *dhol* H

duck, *heron*

ear, *chigam* "ear," *chukn-* (-i) "heard" Mongolian, as Buryat
Selengui *chiza*, Xori *shizan*, Tunk *shil an*, *shil an*, Nishneud
shil an (transcribed roughly according to system of ISI),
Khmer *tra-chuck* (Odend'hal), Khāsī *shikor*, Palung *sol*
Some American Indian languages such as Mayan and perhaps
Athapaskan have similar forms for "ear"

eat, *te be* "eat," *te-ē* "ate," *te e len* "(we) will eat," *te ga da*
 "eating were" Mongolian *ide* BLOCH compares Dr *tin*

eight, *aθho* I < Skr

embrace, *tu i* "embraced"

entreat, *mano ju* "entreated" II *mana na* "to persuade"

eye, *ɣhi* Cf Ainu *shiki* (Ainu has the same apparent fluctuation
 between surd and sonant as Nahali), Skr *chakṣu*, cf Buru
shaski i lchin

famine, *lal* K, I *lal*, *akal*, and general in SE Asia, Skr *a kala*
 "unseasonable time"

far, (1) *bha ga* "distant (country), elder (son)" (apparently a
 v in *ga*) (2) *bhaga dhaua* "far," *bhaga dhaua* "far" a
 long way" (3) *dhawa lida* "far was" Kolami *dhav*, Skr

du ra "far," *dav iyas* "farther"
 father, *aba* K, H *aba* "fathers" < Arabic Similar and sometimes
 perhaps related forms in most languages

ferst, see merry

feel, *padd i* "felt (pity for)" Tamil *pad u* "to suffer, to receive
 or feel an impression," Telegu, Kanarese *paṭ u* "a suffering"

(CALDWELL)

female, see woman

field, *khet* K of Chhindwārā *khet i*, K *khit i*, I < Skr

fifty, *pachas* I < Skr

find, *ghata jira* "is found, was found" K *ghata* "was found,"
 K of Chhindwārā *ghata* "(bread) is got" *awal i ja*, trans

lated "(him good) found," does not really mean "found"
 It is a v formed from the stem *awal* "good"

fire, (1) *apo* Indonesian, cf also Burushaski *phu* (2) *agan* fire
 (in belly) I < Skr (Text *agan ka*, a verbal derivative
 probably meaning 'burns')

five, *pancho* I < Skr

food, (1) *chhokda* (2) *khana* H < Skr (BLOCH 318)

foot, *khuri*, *khudi* I (BLOCH 320)

four, *nalo* Dr

friend, *diso bhai* (translated 'friends with,' which is improbable
 see *dech* 'country' and cf I *bhai* "brother")

get, *jer e* "got (food)" See GRAMMAR For "get angry," see angry

give, (1) *b e* "gave" Gadaba of Bastar *be* "give", cf TB *bi byi*, *pi*, *pe* Nahali *b e be* "give" is not reduplicated as KONOW stated but is the verb with the imperat suf *be* (2) *d e ke* "give!" This is probably not an imperat, although it seems to be used as such This root probably also occurs in *in de ma*, translated "me to give!" This is apparently a contraction of *inge de ma* "me give + verbal particle -ma" H *de-na*, I < Skr

go, (1) *ed-e* "to go, going, gone, went (sg)" (*yed e* "went" occurs once in the text but is incorrect, *y* being a glide from the preceding word *dech ki*), *er e* "go," *er i* "went," *er kedine* "went," *er ga* "go" (pres tense), *er ga* "shall go" (probably histor pres), *er i d ka* "went" (for *er i da ka*?) Mongolian *ire* "to come" (2) *hed ja* "(he inside) went (not)," *her e* "(days) spending," better "(days) went"? H *hid na*, Gujarati *hid vū*, Marathi *hidnē*, Prak *hindai*, Pali *hindati*, Skr *hindate* "wanders," Nepali *hirnu* "to go, to walk, to move" (TURNER)

goat, (1) *bakra* "he goat" I < Skr (BLOCH 374) (2) *chhuri* "female goat" K *siri* "goat", H *chheri* "she-goat," I

god, (1) *bhagwan*- H < Skr (2) *dewta* H *dewta* < Skr

gold, *sona* Mundic, North Dr, I < Skr

good, *awal* (occurs only once), *awal ka* (occurs many times seems to be a v = "good is," but is used as an adj) K, Kolami *aval*, H *awwal* "first, before" < Arabic "first" Cf also H *awal ka* "good of" with the usual Nahali form See also "find"

graze, *charaw*, *chada kke* "grazing" K *chara*, H *chara na* I < Skr (BLOCH 328)

hair, *kuguchhi* Tailoi *huk chin*, etc, BLOCH writes *Wa I uk gin/chin*, but these precise forms are not found in the Palaungic material available to the writer

hand, *boko bal o* Cf Malay *ta pal* "palm sole Kenaboi Iakun *pak*, Main Semang *ta pak* Low Semang *pak* "to slap"

parlot, *rāndi-mundī*- II *rand* "widow, woman," *randi* "woman, wench," Dekhin "prostitute" (FORBES), Skr *munda* " (close shaven) female mendicant," II *mund* "shaved"
 heard, *peng* Khmuk *lam-pon*, Burmese *chham pan* "hair (of head) "

hear, see ear

hill, see top of hill

horse, *mau* Chinese, Daic, Manic *ma*, Loloish *mo, mu*, Japanese *uma*, Korean *mal*, Tungus, Mongol *mori-n, -n*, Palaungic *maruan, maran*, Burmish *man*, Kymrish *marz*, OHG *maraz*

house, *awar, awar* Cf K *ura*, Mundic *oral*

hundred, *sadi* H *ṣad* "hundred," *ṣadi* "century" < Pers *sad*

hunger, *chaṭ lu* "hunger-of" H *chaṭ* "longing, wish"

husks, *chhenga*

inhabitants, *manta minar*

inside, *bhitar ke* "inside, down, under (tree)" K of Chhindwara

bhitra, H *bhitar* "inside", I < Skr (BLOCH 379)

iron, *lokhando* K, Kaikādi Tamil, Kolami, Marathi

is, see be

kiss, *tokk ī* "kissed" Cf K *tofo* "a kiss", Jad Tibetan *tok*

live, (1) *ṇwata* "(he) lives" K *ṇta* "alive", I < Skr (BLOCH 335) (2) *ugham ga* "lives (in house)," *ugayan ga* "lived (in house)" Cf *ugam gen* "(we merry) will be" (1 e "will live"?), *ugat ja* "(thou to make merry) was fit" (rather "could live"?)

lose, *harp i da*, *harp i da* "was lost"

male (of animals), *jakoto*

man, *manchho, manchu* Skr *manuṣya* Khmer *menus* [mnus] (SKEAT and BLAGDON), Mundic *manḥi* (LSI 145) etc

many, (1) *ghan e'* H, Nepali *ghanera* Pañjabi *ghanera*, Gujarati *ghaneru*, Sindhi *ghanero* a little more, Skr *ghanatarah* "very dense" (TURNER) (2) *himwat* 'so many (years)'

marriage, *biyaw* K *biyao* H *biyah, byah*, Decan *bhiya o* < Skr marry, *chhan go jere* ' (he) is married (to his sister)' See *jere* in GRAMMAR

merry, (1) *maja* "merry (will be)" Probably not with ending -ja Cf K of Chhindwārā *maj wam* "feast," Naikī Gondi *maja* "feast, merry", Manggela Marāthī "merry," Skr *madya* "intoxicating" (2) *mauj la* "to make merry" Juāng *mauja* "feast", Kudali Kongkani *maudz* "merry making," H *mauj mar na* "self enjoyment without restraint" (3) *chain* "merry," *chain ka, ga* "to feast" Cf H *chain* "tranquility"

money, *paisa* I

moon, *mindī dewta* Cf Mundie *ninda* in words for "moon", *mindī* seems to be an error for *nindī* For *dewta*, see "god" and "sun"

mother, *may* K, H *mai* < Skr (BLOCH 348) Similar and some times perhaps related forms in most languages

mouth, *kaggo* BLOCH suggests TB, but the closest resemblance in that group is Kanuri *khagan*, Kanashi *kahang*

near, (1) *bond e'* (2) *mer e-pa, mura li* "near (to a person)" K *mera n* "near," Korwa *mara-n-re* "before," Mahle *matra n* "before", but H *mere pas* "me near" (FIELDBRAVE) may compare with the first Nahali form

nine, *naw* I < Skr

nose, *choon* Cf Manic, also Malay *chium* "to smell," Jakun Camphor language *panchium* "nose" (SKEAT and BLAGDOV)

one, *bidi* "one," *bidari* "one (person)" Turkish *bır*, cf Tib *dben* "solitary" (*n adj* ending)

out, *bahar e le'* H *bahar*

perform, see take place

pity, *luwu* I (BLOCH 311)

prepare (food), *hundar e* "(he) prepared (food)," *hundar la ma* "preparedst (food)"

price, *limton* H *qimat* < Pers < Arabic

property, (1) *mal* K Kurux *mal*, Kui *mala*, I, H *mal* "property, wealth, goods" pl 'cattle', E Turkish *mal* "ware, goods, cattle", Inner Mongolian *mal* 'cattle, animal' < Arabic "property, money, cattle" (2) *dhan* I *dhan*, H *dhan* < Skr (BLOCH 354) (3) *dhan mal* "property, wealth" Gondi

put, (1) *ur i be* "put (on clothes)" K *uri li* "put on (ring,

- shoes)", H *urh na* (2) *oh i be* "put (saddle on horse's back)" put (me among thy servants)"
- reach, *adir* : "reached (the house)"
- ring (for finger), *mundi* K, I (BLOCH 389)
- riotously, and *phand l i*
- rope, *dora* I (BLOCH 354)
- run, *cher go be* "run," *cher g e* "having run" Cf Sakai jar
- rupee, *rupya* I < Skr
- saddle, *khogir, l hogir* Kākūḍī *l hogir*, Kurux *khugir*, Gondī *khogur*
- satisfy, *ṭako ga ṭa* " (belly fire) to satisfy wanted"
- say, (1) *mand i* "said," *mand i rang* "to say" K *mand i* "say"
- (2) *lain i* (also once *kayn u*) 'said, *kayn e le* 'shall say', Cf Pañjābī *lahina* Gujarātī *kahevu*, Marāṭhī *lahya* 'order'
- Bengālī *kaha*, Oriyā *kah i ba*, H *kah na*, Prak *kahet*, Pālī *katheti*, Skr *lathayati* (TURNER)
- see, *ara be* "see," *ara ye ku* ' (his father) seeing (him)," trans lited "having been" due apparently to a misprint for "having seen" Arabic *ra* "to see," *ara* "to show" (POPPER)
- send, *pur i* "sent"
- sense, *akal* H *all*
- servants (1) *naukar* K of Chhindwārā servant' H, I 'slave, *halku* (text *hal l un popo chen* servants to belly from' should be *halku n popo* 'servants' bellies—') H *khalk* 'people' < Irān *ṣalq* (PHILLOT) < Arabic Also Tartar *ṣalq* E Finno Ugr *ṣalik* (3) *bhangya-mijar* Probably same as 'slave, q v But cf also H *bhangī* 'caste of sweepers'
- service, *chakarī* H < Pers
- seven *sato* I < Skr
- share (of property), *hichcha* H *hiṣṣa* < Pers < Arabic
- sheep, *mendha* I < Skr (BLOCH 390)
- shepherd *dhankar* I
- shoes *khaude* K *kaure*

* In the text this word is translated consider but its use in the sentences shows it means put

- shopkeeper, *dukāndār*-. I.; H. *dūkāndār* < Pers. *dukān* "shop"
 < Arabic (STEINGASS).
 silver, *chāndī*. K.; I. < Skr.
 sin, *pāp-karm*. K. *pāpō*; I.; Skr. *pāpa-karman* "wicked deed."
 sister, *bāi*. Bhili *bāi* "sister," Assam *bāi* "elder sister"; Mon *bhoa*
 (*bhai*) "elder sister" (SKEAT and BLAGDON).
 sit, *pēt-ē-bē*, *peṭ-e*-. Cf. I. *baith*- < Skr.
 six, *chhāh*. I., Skr. *sas*-.
 slave, *bhāgiyā* "slave," *bhāgyā*- "servants." K. *bhagiya* "ser-
 vant," *bhāgyā* "slave."
 small, *bās-i* ' "small," *bās-i-gītā* "younger brother," *bāch-ē-gītā*
 "young son," *bāchura-n* "the younger-by" (probably better
bāch-ē-rēn, cf. *-rē*, *-rēn* in the GRAMMAR). H. *bachchā*
 "child" < Pers.
 so many, see many.
 son, (1) *bētā*. Korwā, Khariā; I. (2) *palichho*- "son," *pāliccho*
 "son, boy," *pālīchho* "son; young (of sheep)," *pālīšo-rongā*
 "son." Cf. Khmer *pros* "boy," Oriyā *purusa* "man." (S)
 see child.
 sound (n.), *chālaṅ*. K. of Akola *chālā*.
 spend (days), see go.
 spend (money), *udā-tin-kā*. Cf. H. *urā-nā*, Pañjābī *udāunā*, Sindhi
udāinu, Nepālī *urāunu* (tr., caus. of *urnu*) "to lift up, to chase
 away, to sweep away, to blow up; to squander"; Prak. *uddā-
 vai*, Skr. *uddāpayati* "makes fly up, scares" (TURNER).
 stand, *chipo-bē*. Cf. Naga TB: Namsangia, Kwoireng, Moshang
chāp, Khoirao *chap*; Kachinish *chāp*.
 star, *iphil-tā*. (-*tā* for -*ṭā* "pl."). Mundic *īpīl*; Korean *pyel*.
 sun, *diyā dēwtā*. = H. "lamp god."
 swine, *chogum-tā*, *jogom-ta* (-*ṭā* "pl.").
 take away from' *unn-i-bē*.
 take out, *phēr-kē* "taking out (cloth)."
 take place, perform, -*kādin-i*, -*kēdin-i*. See GRAMMAR.
 tall, *ūñchā*; *ūchā* "high, higher, highest." K. *ūñchā* "high"; I.
unchā, *ūchā*, *uchchā*, H. *unchā*, Skr. *uchchah*.
 ten, *das*. I. < Skr.
 then, *bhāt-ē*.'

three, *moŋho* Dr

to-day, *baāya*

tongue, *lāng* Mundic

tooth, *menge* Suntung (Khasi) *Imien*, War *-Imen*, Sakai *lāmūn*,

Semang *lamoing* (SKEAT and BLAGDON, p 448, 741), Khmer

thmēñ (*dhmēñ*), cf Burushaski *i-mih*

top of hull, *balla kajar* H *bala* "top"

tree, *add*

twenty, *bis* I < Skr

two, *ira*, *ir*, *ir* Dr "Two and a half," *ada* I *adhai*, *adhai*, cf

also BLOCH 286, K *ada*, Korwā *arhai*, etc

uncle, *kaka* Mundic, Dr, I

under, see inside

up, *leg-e* K *len*, Juāng *a ling*

village, *biyaka*

walk, (1) *bhum be* (imperat) (2) *pat* : "walked," *pat* : "came,"

pat "(his) coming," *paṭ kedim* "(boy) comes (behind),"

pat kedim "coming" Cf Naga TB *pat*, *-pat*, *bat*, Khassic

phet "to run"

want, see satisfy

water, *ŋopo*, *ŋappo* Cf Nahali *leiñ ɔo* "to draw water"

wealth, see property

well (n), *ku* Cf H *ku* < Skr

well (adv), *lhub* Malto, Gondi, K, Kurux *lhub*, H *lhub*

"good, well" < Pers *lhub*, Avesta *hvapah* (HORN)

white, *pandhar* Gondi *pandri*, Kurux *pandru*, I (BLOCH 365)

< Skr

wife, see woman

woman, *kol* "woman, wife, female (of animals)" Kolamī *kolama*

"wife", Kashmiri *kolay* "wife", cf H *kul*, *kula* "family,"

Skr *kula*

worthy, *jaga* Apparently a *v* with suf *ga*, but cf Juang *jugya*

years, *warso* K. *oroso*, Naiki of Gondi *vars*, Kolamī *varsa*, H

varsha "annual" < Skr, cf *var*, BLOCH 406

yes, *hā* Mundic *hā*, *ha*, Kurux *ha*, Kaikadi *ha*, I *hā*, *ha*

young, see son, small

GRAMMAR

NOUNS

KONOW has remarked that "there is apparently no grammatical gender and no dual." This seems to be correct in regard to the dual. But the question of gender and number should be considered in connection with the declension. Insufficient evidence exists to determine whether inanimate nouns are declined in the IE sense of the word. But there is evidence indicating that nouns denoting animate beings are declined. Words denoting human beings, and ending in *-o* in the singular, change the ending to *-ā* in the plural, as *mānchho* "man," *mānchhā* "men"; *pērijo* "daughter," *pērijā-tā* "daughters," where the ordinary postposition of the plural has been added; and words denoting persons and ending in a consonant in the singular, add *-ā* in the plural if we may judge by *kol* "woman," *kolā-tē-n* "women."

The declension of masculine nouns shows traces of an oblique plural: *mānchhā* "men" (N. pl.), *mānchhāē-tē-n* "of men," where the plural suffix and the suffix *-n* have been added; *ābā-tā* "fathers" (N. pl.), *ābāē-tā* "of fathers," *ābāi-ta-l-kē* "to fathers," *ābāi-ta-l-kū* "from fathers." In the last two examples, *-ta-* should probably have been written *-ta-*; for the suffix *-l-*, cf. *mānchhā-thi-l-kē*, *-kū* "to, from men."

One feminine noun is declined differently from the masculine nouns of which we have examples: beside *pērijo* "daughter" (sg.) and *pērijā-tā* (N. pl.), there is *pēr-ā-nān* "of daughters" and *pēr-ā-to-n-ko* "to, from daughters." The stem appears to be *pēr-* with *-ā* added in the oblique cases of the plural instead of to the nominative plural, as with masculine nouns. More evidence will be required to determine whether masculine, feminine and neuter nouns were declined differently.

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives precede the noun. They are not declined and do not take suffixes to indicate case. No distinction seems to be made for the comparative or superlative.

Numerals precede adjectives and are not declined; thus: *bidi aṭalkā mānchho* "a good man," *bidi aṭalkā mānchho-kē* "to a good man," *ir aṭalkā mānchhā* "two good men."

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns are:

jo "I"

in, ingē, ēngē, hingē "my"
hinga-n-bārē "to me"

jo "we." Burushaski jā "I, my"

Mundic mṛ "I"

hinga-n "we, our."

nē "thou, thine"

nē-n

nī-nē

nē-n-gā

"thy"

nē "you, your." TB nē, nī, nā.

Chinese nī, nā, Dr. nī.

nā-kū "you, of you."

ho, hō "he"

hō "they." Khētrānī (Lahndā)
hō, Sindhī uhō, hū.

ho itti "he." See demonst.
prons.

ho-ytarē "he, him."

ho-itarē "he."

itarē "he, him."

ētarē "he, his, him"

ētarē-n "his, him, its,

that"

etarē-n "his"

ētarnē-n "his." 10

ēngā

ēngē

hingē

hiyēngī "he" 12

ho-ytarē "they, them."

ho-itarē "they."

ētarē "they, their."

etarē-n "their."

Oriyish,
Bengalish,
Assamish
tār "his"

* Once jo "I," incorrectly translated "me-by"

10 Cf. also tīlān "those," stān "which (swine)" Under Verbs, Konow stated "in the third person tanlē is recorded. It is perhaps the same word as Santālī tākā kan." That is an error. It occurs in ho: tan kē "he is" ho: itan-kē "they are," which should have been written ho:tan-kē, ho:itan kē, both probably equal to *ho-itarnē-kē, cf

The nominative is the same for all personal pronouns in both singular and plural, as will be seen in the above table. The declension in the oblique cases is not clear.

The reflexive pronouns are:

apnā "(father) his (servants)." I. "self, own."
ibniḡi "my own," *ibniḡē* "his own." In his grammatical notes, Konow revises the meaning of the first form to "own," which is correct. Cf. *apnā*.

The relative pronoun is *jo* "what (you said), what (is mine, is thine), who (was lost)." H. *jo* "if, that, as, when; rel. pron.: who, which, what," I., Prak. *jo*, Pali, Skr. *yo* (TURNER).

The interrogative pronouns are *bīchā* "why?" (see "ask" in vocab.) and *nān*, *nān-ko* "what?", *nān-ī* "who?", *nēn-ī* "whose?". Indefinite pronouns are formed from the latter root: *nān-kā* "anything," *nān-i-kā* "anyone," by the addition of *-kā* to the corresponding interrogative pronoun.

The demonstrative pronouns and adverbs of place are:

hī "this." Kukish.

hīti "here."

itī "that," *ho-itī* "that, those," *itē* "the." Cf. *ho itti* "he."

hāḡi-koyēri "there." *-koyēri* appears to be a verb, so *hāḡi* alone probably means "there."

VERBS

The division of the elements of the Nahālī language into various parts of speech results rather from convenience and ignorance than any conviction that such a division represents the actual state of the language. Many of these elements which we should probably classify in different parts of speech would probably be considered by the Nahāls as belonging to one category. Consequently, the following discussion largely concerns certain suffixes or post-

ḡtarnē-n "his" *ho* alone never means "he," as Konow seemed to assume. Similarly *ho ḡthē* "he was, they were" should have been *ho-ḡthē*, cf. *ho-itḡi* "he."

¹¹ *mē* (by contraction from **ingē*?) "he (coming)," is probably literally "his coming."

¹² Incorrectly translated "who"

positions¹³ which are found to occur frequently, but not exclusively, with what we are accustomed to consider as verbs

Kovow has already pointed out that the verb substantive is *la* and compared it with the Kurku *la* "is" He has also called attention to a suffix *la* or *-ga* occurring in the present tense of finite verbs But that seems hardly to cover all the range of its usage There occur, for example, *ugham ga* "lives" and *ugayan ga* "lived," *uḡatm la* "spent (property)," *hundar la ma* "preparedst (food)," *loṭṭo ken la* "shall beat," *chain la, ga* "to feast," *mauj la* "to make merry" The same suffix is also found in *awal la* "good," compared with *awal* once in the text and also in Kurku It also seems to occur in *ja ga* "worthy" and *bha ga* 'distant (country)' Its use is so general that one may question whether in the conjugation *jo la* "I am, we are," and *ne la* "thou art, you are," *-la* should not be considered as a verbalizing of the pronouns rather than as some form of the verb 'to be'

The many examples of *le* in the past tense seem to be formed from the same suffix by substituting the 'past tense suffix *e, i*' for the *a* of *-la* The suffix *le* is not exclusively confined to the past tense, for we find *hontan le* "he is," *hontan le* "they are," and *layn e le* "shall say"

By the addition of *n* to *le*, we get the postposition *len, gen* with which the future occurs most often *tee len* "will eat" (*tee* 'ate'), *loṭṭo ken la* "shall beat," *lohaṭu len* "will beat," *ugayn gen* "(merry) will be"

Reference has been repeatedly made in the vocabulary to an ending *e, i* Kovow has already noticed its use in the past tense Most of the verbs with which it occurs do seem to be predominantly in the past tense However, most of the verbs that occur in the text are, in English, in the past tense, so that this tense naturally predominates over the others But just as *la* was found not to be used exclusively in the present, so there are sufficient instances to show that the *e, i* suffix does not have exclusively the sense of the past tense *ed e* "to go," *er e* "go", *b i* "(what) is (mine)", *aṭaibin i* "how many are there (in house)?" *hel e* "am (not worthy)", *ladin i* *kedin i* * 'take place' (used in both present

¹³ Suffix and postposition are used interchangeably as no useful distinction can be observed in the present state of our knowledge of Nahali

and past tense, see below) Moreover, the imperative and future suffixes *be* and *ken* may be added to this "past" tense suffix *e* ɪ Several words denoting directions or place such as *bond e* "near," *leg e* "up," *cham* ɪ "before" contain this suffix It occurs with adjectives such as *ej e* "bad," *bas* ɪ, *bach e* "small, young" perhaps in *ghan e* "many," *sab* ɪ *kun* "all from", with conjunctions such as *bhaɬ e* "then" and *irken e* "because", and with pronouns such as *ing e*, *eng e* "my," *n e* "thou, thine, you, your," *eng e* "his," *etar e* "he, his him, they, their," etc Or perhaps it might be nearer the truth to say that this suffix is used with what we are accustomed to consider as adjectives, conjunctions and pronouns but which to the Nahals are in the same class as verbs

More complete data on Nahali may, of course, show that what appear to be the same suffix had different origins or are pronounced differently or carry different tones

KONOW stated that the *e* or ɪ suffix as used in the past tense "is apparently identical with Kurku -a, en"

A suffix *ya* occurs in *pi ya* "come," *gola-ya* "(property) having collected," *ata ya* "(wealth) was divided," *kama-ya* "did" It may arise from *a* being added to the suffix *e*, ɪ KONOW suggests however, that in the last two words, at least, the suffix -*ya* may be Indic Cf also *ara-ye ku* "having seen"

KONOW remarked that in the text *ta* is used in the meaning "was, were" It is perhaps used to form a past tense in *te ga da* "eating were," *ɬako ga ɬa* "to satisfy wanted," *harp* ɪ *da* "was lost"

A verbal suffix seems to be used to form verbs from adjectives in *awal* ɪ *ja* "found good," from *awal* "good," and perhaps in *khij* ɪ *ja* "(he) got angry," and *nanga y-ja n* "destitute became," derived from H *nanga* 'naked' But compare *uga* ɪ-*ja*, *hed ja mano je* (see vocab) KONOW considered that this suffix seemed "to have a passive or intransitive force" and compared it with K -en -jen and jan, Mundari jan -yan

KONOW stated that "the imperative is formed by adding the suffixes -*e* or *ke*" If he had had an opportunity to analyze the language more fully, he could hardly have been led to that con

clusion The suffix *-be* occurs nine times in the sentences or text where it is certain that a command has been issued or an entreaty made *εε* occurs once in the vocabulary where the equivalent for 'go' was expected but where the fact that the imperative form was desired was not sufficiently clearly indicated Most of the verbs in the vocabulary of the *ISI* occur with the imperative ending *be* since tense or mood was not specified But the text and sentences show conclusively that the imperative ending is *-be le* occurs in *de le* "give" Perhaps with this verb of "giving" it would seem impolite to issue a command with the imperative ending when one is really requesting the gift

Various forms are listed by KOWOW as participles and as verbal nouns It would be more nearly correct to say that there are no participles or verbal nouns, that these various forms have only been rendered in the English version as participles or verbal nouns

There are two verbs which seem often to be used as auxiliaries, to use a terminology which is not at all appropriate for a language like Nahali They are *kadim*, etc, *jere*, etc The first of these probably means ' (what) is going on, to occur, to make, to do " It occurs as follows *nan kadim* "what is going on?", *cham kadim* 'merry made,' *hoytare kadim* "he said" (i e "he made," like French *il fit* or locutions in American Indian languages), *pat kadim* "coming," *pat kadim* " (boy) comes," *lotto kadim* " (I am beating," "beating," *charaw kadim* " (he) is grazing (cattle)," *er kedine* " (he) went," *etarnen palichho-ren khub la kadim kotti*

I have beaten his son with many stripes " In many of these instances, the verb seems to be continuative in meaning, although this may be accidental

jere probably means 'got' or 'finished' It follows the main verb to form a perfect, denoting completed action *lotto-jere* " (I had beaten," "having beaten" (i e (I beat finished got done'), *jere ka* ' (food) got is,' *chhango jere* (the son of my uncle) is married (to his sister)' (i e the action is complete), *pete jire* (he) is sitting (on a horse) (i e the action of seating is completed), *ghata jira* 'found is was found, *hote jire* ' (many days) passed (not)

POSTPOSITIONS

-*tā* "plural" (follows stem and precedes case postpositions). Sometimes -*tā* occurs instead, probably due to poor recording. From the examples given above under NOUNS, it appears that the final vowel of this plural postposition varies considerably in declension. -*tā* may have been declined according to gender, number and case like postpositions in many of the Indic languages. Cf. Manchu -*ta*, -*te* "pl." (anim. and mostly with persons); Śīyang (Kukish) -*te* "pl."; Cantonese -*ti* "pl. postpos." with prons. at least.

-*kē*, -*kī* "dat.-loc." (with or without motion): -*kē* "in (country man lived)," "(one man) among (inhabitants lived)," in (house is, lives)," "(country) in (famine came)," "(grazing) on (top of hill)," "on (horse's back put saddle!)," "to (him sense came)," "(him) on (dress put!)," "(hand) on (ring put!)" ; also postponed to directions, q. v., and to -*thā*-in -*thā-kē* "near." -*kī* "(he) in (field was)," "on (the back of the horse he is sitting)," "in (field was sent)," "to (country went)," "in (ropes bind him!)," "among (servants put me)" ; also postponed to directions, q. v. "dat." (with v. "to say"): -*kē* "(him) to (shall say)," "(father) to (said)." "dat." (of personal relationship): -*kī* "to (a man, two sons were)." "instr.": -*kē* "(husks) with (his belly fire to satisfy wanted)."

-*kā* "possessive": "(drums)' (sound)," "(horse)'s (back)" ; also in *nē-kā* "thine," *ētarnēn-kā jār*- "his back—."¹⁴

-*kū*, -*kun*, -*kon* "abl." (of removal from): -*kun* "(today I far) from (walked)," "(here) from (Kashmir how far?),"¹⁵ "from (all, take out the good cloth)," "from (property, give me my share)." -*kon* "from (well, draw water!)." -*kū* "(my father) from (many servants' bellies much food got-is)." Also postponed in -*thā-kun* "(whom) from (bought)," and -*thā-ku* "(shopkeeper)

¹⁴ -*kē* "of" in *dēch-kē māntāmīnār-kē būdī mānchu-kē aurār-kē ugdyangā* is probably due to all nouns on both sides of *mānchu* taking -*kē*. It should be -*kā* "(man)'s (house)".

¹⁵ Seems to be an ablative without motion, but distance with primitive peoples is usually thought of as walking distance.

from (bought).” “partitive abl” ¹⁸ -kū “(he his servants) from among (one near called).” kun postponed to -tā- (i e -tha-) in -ta-kun “(them) from among (the younger said to father).” “comparative, than” (original sense probably “away from”) -ku “(he is taller) than (his sister)” In the vocabulary, -ku is recorded for “from (father, fathers, man, men),” -ku as a genitive with -thā- in “of (me, us, thee),” -ku as gen-dat. in “of, to (daughter),” and -ko “to, from (daughters),” and nā-ku “you, of you” These meanings are unreliable as the precise usage is not known -kū occurs only once in the text with a genitive meaning, in 30 chaṭ kû bēṭo-gā “I hunger-of die,” where in English we can also use “from”

Of the large number of postpositions in other languages which resemble those in Nahālī, a few are H -ko “dat-acc,” -ka, -ke, -kī “gen,” -ke-hiyē “dat,” Braj Bhāṅkā -kau “gen,” -kū, -kū, kau, -kaī, -kē “dat-acc,” Bundelī -kō, -khō “dat-acc,” -ko “gen” (obl m -ke, fem dir and obl -kī), Dākṣiṇī -ku, -ku, -ko, -ke tai, -ka-ne “dat-acc,” -ka, -ke, -kī “gen,” Pañjābī Kangrā -kī “dat-acc,” Oriyā -ku “dat-acc” (rational), “dat” (irrational-man), and many other postpositions beginning with k in E Hindi, Marāṭhī, Sindhī, Lahndī, Rājasthānī, Bengālī, Bihārī, Assamese, Gujarātī, and the Dard and Kafir groups In Dravidian Burghandī Tamil -k “dat acc,” -ke “loc abl,” -ko “loc,” -kun “abl,” Malayālam -kku “dat,” Telugu ku, ki “dat,” Bihārī dial of Kolīmī -ku, -kun “dat,” etc A precise definition of the usage of the postpositions in these languages will be necessary to determine possible borrowing by Nahālī

-n, -na “possessive” (with third pers prons and with nouns)
-n “his elder son, his brother, his sister, his small house, his hand, (it)s (price), (village)s (shopkeeper), (sheep)s (young), (servant)s (bellies), of (a father),” na “(horse)s (saddle),” perhaps also in pera nan “of daughters” (really pera nā, with root pera indicated by pera ton ko “to, from daughters”)

-n, -na, ne with verbs of entreating, calling, saying n “(him) to (entreated, said),” na “(one) to (he called),” -ne “(father) to (said)”

¹⁸ one from among several

n with verbs of getting, giving and taking away *chhokda n jere ka* "food got is", and "(this rupee him) to (give)", "(those rupees him) from (take)", "(him) to (anything anyone not gave)", "(me) to (sheep of young any ? not gavest)", "(them) to (he his wealth divided) "

na "comitative" "(who harlots) with (money ate) "

ne, *n* 'agentive' KONOW considers this, in his grammatical notes in the *LSI*, as apparently the suffix of the agent and as "distinctly Aryan," a view expressed all through his translation of the text. This is a tenable position, which it is useless to argue in the present state of our knowledge of Nahrī. I prefer, however, to consider this postposition as a genitive in such instances, as that is one of the known uses of this postposition. Thus *aba ne mandī* which KONOW translated "father by it was said," is rather "(the) father's saying". In this matter, one should consider KONOW's statement regarding Mundic "every verbal form can according to circumstances, be considered as a noun, an adjective or a verb

ṭha See *ke*, *ku*, *kun* I (BLOCH 200)

bari, *bare* "to" "(coming) to (house)", "(me) to (sheep of young any ? not gavest) "

-re, *-ren* with relationship terms *aba-re* "father ?", *palchho ren* "son-?", *bai ren* "sister ?", and cf *bachu-ran* "young ?", *daya-re* "younger brother"

ADVERBS

beṭ e not occurs before verbs, although it itself looks like a verb, both because of the ending in *e* and because it seems to be related to the root of the word for 'die,' *q v*. Cf also *beṭa be* not gave *be ko* no' may be from *beṭ ko*

Other adverbs will be found in the vocabulary

CONJUNCTIONS

do and *k do*, *ḍo*, *Birhar oḍo* *Kharia*, *Mundari oḍo* and 'Savara -ḍo but Malto *ado* cf Bodo *theo bu* 'but

ne "and" (occurs twice) *I ne*, *ane*, *ani ni* *Gondi ani* *Loloish na*, *Ainuan na* (a narrow') "also" (PILSUDSKI)

na and' (occurs once) *Burmish na*

pin "but." Mār-wāpī (Rajasthanish) pin, I. pan, Prak. puna,
Skr. punah.
jo-pāt-ke "if" (= "that-which-comes"?).

INTERJECTIONS

hā "alas." Mundic āhā; H. hā < Skr.
ē "O!" (occurs before voc.). Mundic, Dr.; TB

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In addition to the above sources Jules Bloch W. Popper and Theodore Fieldbrave have suggested comparisons. Where no authority is cited for a word it is from the *Linguistic Survey of India*

CERTAIN TIBETAN SUFFIXES AND THEIR COMBINATIONS

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1. na

That *na* "in" belongs together with *nañ* "the interior"¹ is so obvious that it would hardly seem necessary to make this statement. But the question arises as to how we have to account for the relationship between the two words. Is *na* a shortened form of *nañ* which owes the loss of its final to the enclitical character of suffixes, or is *nañ* a nasalized derivative of *na* which then, as I pointed out elsewhere,² must have likewise originally ended in a guttural?³ A first argument which would speak in favour of the latter alternative may be found in the orthography *nah* which we meet in Old Tibetan texts.⁴ But it would seem impossible to settle this question without adducing additional material.

¹ A SCHIEFNER, in his "*Tibetische Studien IV, Beiträge zur Casuslehre*" (*Bull Acad St Pétersbourg* VIII (1865), cols 9-21 = *Mélanges Asiatiques* V (1868), pp 178-191) writes (*Mel As*, p 185, *Bull* col 11). "*na, das ich in den nächsten Zusammenhang mit nan 'das Innere' bringen möchte*" At the end of his article, SCHIEFNER gives examples for some "Disuffixes," and he also clearly differentiates between *las* and *nas*. As I saw his article only after having completed this paper, I failed to refer to it on p 372, and on p 389. In the latter place, my statement that Dr. P. CORDIER was the first to have drawn attention to the combination of two suffixes must be rectified. The "Disuffixes" adduced by SCHIEFNER would correspond to CORDIER's numbers 11, 3, 7, 2, 1. One should also note that SCHIEFNER and CORDIER have (probably quite independently) arrived at the same results in their description of the functions of the Tibetan cases, as is evident from the names of cases which they have both adopted: *allative*, *messive*, *illative*, *ablativ*, and *clativ*.

² "*Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen*" (in the following abbreviated as *W. Gl.*). Berlin 1930, p 6.

³ I was very glad to note that the regretted Stuart N. WOLFENDEY has endorsed my conclusions stating (*JRAS* 1937, p 627) that "*Tibetan word families remain very true to their own single type of final, viz guttural, dental, or labial, as the case may be, and it is impossible—except in certain peculiar cases, each of which requires its own special treatment—to establish anything in the nature of families with mixed finals*"

⁴ Cf A. H. FRANCKE, *Tibetische Handschriftenfunde aus Turfan* (*Sitzungsber Preuss Ak Wiss*, Phil.-hist Kl 1924, III), p 10. Cf also *W. Gl.*, pp 6/7, and n 6 on page 6.

Let us first look at some dental series. In the *Addenda* to the reprint of JÄSCHKE's *Tibetan Grammar* (Berlin 1929, pp 120/1) numerous examples of alternations of the type *dro-ba* "to be hot," *dron-mo* "hot," *drod* "heat" can be found, but there the word without a final is always a verb, and so there does not seem to be a close resemblance between those alternations and our case here. Among them, however, is the verb *dmah ba* "to be low," which is itself a derivative of *ma*, according to JÄSCHKE (*Dict*, p 408) "a root signifying below." And side by side with *ma* we have the nasalized form *man*, which occurs not only in the compound *man cad** (or *man-chad*) "downwards," but as an independent noun in the meaning "lower part of a country, lowland." Here then we would have a striking parallel to the alternation *na—nan*, both from the phonetic and semantic point of view. And it is by no means the only one.

JÄSCHKE himself refers to *ya* "above" and its derivative *yan*. Another pair is *pha* "beyond" with *phan*, and *tshu* "hither" with *tshun*†. In the case of *pha* the nasalized form occurs as a noun also in the meaning "use, profit" ("something which leads beyond") and as a verb in the meaning "to be useful." In so far as *pha* "beyond" has a verbal nasalized form, *phyi* "outside" and *phyin* "to come, to go" (= to emerge) can also be adduced, a relationship which JÄSCHKE (*Dict*, p 350) has already considered probable.

The examples adduced so far speak strongly, I think, in favour of *nan* being a nasalized derivative of *na*, and there are parallels in the guttural series as well. A parallel to *phyi—phyin*, this time with guttural plosive, is formed by *hog* "below" and *hon* "to come": The connection, of course, implies that *hon* meant

* *cad* (or *chad*) clearly belonging with *god pa* "to cut," occurs with a number of words denoting location, as *yan phan tshun* and *bar* in addition to the well known compound *thams-cad* "all."

† The etymological relationship between *pha-tshu* and Chinese *ph-tz'u* 發此 is obvious, but cannot be discussed here.

* Cf. B. GL., Nos 59 and 141. So Chinese *kan* 下 and *kan* 行 would show the same type of derivation. *Hna* would be nearest to a Tibetan *ho* and this seems to be the *ho* for which DESODOIRS (*Dictionnaire tibeto-français* p 296) gives the meaning "time turn," a well known meaning of Chinese *kan*. See also here below p. 378.

originally "to move downwards,"⁸ and this suggestion can be supported by the fact that *pheb* "to come" is not only clearly related with *hbab* "to move downwards," but actually occurs in the same meaning as the latter word.⁹ A similar case would be *soñ*, functioning as perfect and imperative of *hgro-ba* "to go," which I consider a derivative of *so* "place," itself a derivative of *sa* "earth" (see here below, p. 386). But there are also guttural parallels of the type *ma*—*man*, to match even better our *na*—*nañ*. Three words ending in *ñ* clearly side with *nañ*: *goñ* "above," *guñ* "middle," and *khoñ* "inside." The respective etymons, however, make some semasiological remarks necessary. *Go*¹⁰ is explained by JASCHKE as 1. "place" and 2. "the proper place, position, rank." Taking it together with *goñ* "above," one would suggest a primary meaning of "high place" and find this confirmed by the meanings of an obvious derivative, *mgo*: "head, top, first place, beginning."¹¹ *Gu* is described by JASCHKE as "extension, room, space," *guñ* "middle" might therefore be primarily "the spacious place."¹² As original meaning of *kho*, which is mostly used as a personal pronoun of the third person, JASCHKE indicates "essence, substance" (*Dict.*, pp. 42/3). This would fit well with the meaning "inside" which in addition to *khoñ* also occurs in *khog* (cf. the metaphorical use of "core" in English). Also *kho-na* "exactly" seems to confirm this meaning.

In a further example the connection between the etymon and its derivative is not quite obvious, viz. between *tha* and *thañ*. *Tha* clearly means "low, bottom," as is evident from *tha-ma*

⁸ JASCHKE (*Dict.*, p. 315) notes this meaning with the words "so it seems to be used" The source "Lt" for his example is the *Lhan Thabs*" (No 473 of the "Verzeichnis" by SCHMIDT and BOENTLINGER (*Bull. Hist-Phil. Ac. St.-Petersb.*, T. IV (1849), col. 117) By a curious mistake the abbreviation is left out in the list on p. xxi.

⁹ See below, p. 378 on *hdeñ*, *hdoñ*

¹⁰ In II *Gl.*, Nos 151/3 I compared *goñ* "above" to Chin *kao* 高 "high" and *goñ* "price" to Chin *chia* 價 The two Tibetan words are etymologically identical, and *go* would be nearest to Chin *kao*

¹¹ I must withdraw II *Gl.* No 203, based on the false assumption that *mgo* had an original final dental

¹² Cf. other semantic origins of the concept "middle" below, p. 382 n. 49 (Chin *chung* 中) and p. 383 Tib *dbu*

which JÄSCHKE defines as "the last of several things, the lowest, meanest, most inferior," and from *tha-na* which he (and after him CHANDRA DAS) translates by "even so much as" and "up to," but which should better be translated by "even so little," or "down to."¹³ But for *than* JÄSCHKE indicates "flat country, plain, steppe" as meaning, as does DESGODINS ("planities, plaine"). JÄSCHKE himself, however, includes the example *than-la ltuñ-ba* "to fall to the ground." So, I think, the "plain" is primarily "the lowland," or "the ground." In accordance with this we find *rkañ-than* "on foot," or compounds like *goñ-than*, or *rin-than* "price" and *dbañ-than* "might," in which *than* seems to mean something like "basis." Side by side with *tha* and *than* we have also a word with guttural plosive, *thag* "distance." The primary meaning which I should like to suggest, is "bottom-end, end," so that *thag rin-ba* "to be distant" would originally be: "to be long, as far as the (bottom-)end is concerned." In a similar manner the derivative *mthah*, which JÄSCHKE has already compared with *tha*, means "end, limit etc." In addition to *mthah*, there is also an Old Tibetan word *mthan* "below," occurring in the gloss *bla mthan ni stod smad dam phyi nañ*.¹⁴ As a verbal derivative of the same series I should like to add *gtoñ-ba* "let go" which primarily must have meant "send down."

Tha—than would conclude our list of pairs of words denoting location which match *na—nañ*. Three more examples, however, which equally belong in the guttural series, will result from the discussion of the suffixes *ste*, *la* and *du*.

¹³ Desgodins only quotes Csoma's and Jäschke's entries. The Sanskrit equivalent of the example in DAS can be found in *Mahāvīyutpatti* (ed by SAKAKI, Kyōto 1925) as No 6331. Other examples, e.g., in the *So-sor-thar-pa* (ed by Satis Chandra Vidyasana, Calcutta, 1915), where *tha-na* is translated correctly on p 12 as "down even" (No 1), or p 31 (No 70) "even to."

¹⁴ Cf how "bottom" is also defined as "farthest point" in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (3rd ed 1934), p 128. Cf also German "*Das ist ein ganzes Ende*" for "it is rather far away." Jäschke's explanation of *thag* "distance" = *thag pa* "measuring-cord" must to my mind be abandoned, as must his explanation of *thag chöl* = "cut cord," etc. DESGODINS rightly translates "*distantia secta*," i.e. "certitudo." Cf the Latin word for "end" occurring in "definite" and "determined."

¹⁵ Cf p 3 B of the Tibetan Mongolian Edition of the *Brdah gzar rnyñ gñ skor* which forms the last part of the *Dag yig mkhas pañ byuñ gnas*

2. *ste*

From the phonetic point of view *ste* (of which *te* and *de* are the secondary forms owing their existence to sandhi¹⁶) is to *steñ*,¹⁷ as *na* is to *nañ*. And as *steñ* means "what is above," the meaning "above, upon" would have to be assumed as the primary meaning of *ste*. The difficulty of accepting this etymology lies in what is supposed to be the outstanding function of *ste*. It is generally described as a "gerundial" suffix. But JASCHKE has already pointed out (*Dict.*, p. 221) that "*it may be added also to other words than verbs*," and while hesitating to accept his explanation for this fact, viz. that "*ste contains the copula*," we are entitled to see in the occurrence of *ste* after non-verbs a confirmation of our etymology, for it is a common feature of all Tibetan suffixes that they occur both after non-verbs and verbs.

The usual "gerundial" function of *ste* may well be accounted for by the translation "upon." As this can imply the meaning of "addition," it can express both synchronization and sequence of events, or circumstances. And it is interesting to note that the suffix *la*, the primary meaning of which, as we shall see, is equally "above, upon," "*is used as a gerundial particle in a similar sense as te (ste)*" (JASCHKE, *Dict.*, p. 540). We can also easily understand the usage of *ste* after pronouns, as in *ci ste* (literally "what upon"¹⁸), or after adverbs as in *da ste žag bdun na* ("in seven days from today," lit. "now-upon seven-days-in.")¹⁹ But there is

¹⁶ It may be assumed that the rules governing the usage of the three alternative forms have been developed gradually. I find *yin ste* in an Old Tibetan text, published by A. H. FRANCKE ("Weitere tibetische Handschriftenfunde von Turfan," *Sitzungsber Preuss Ak Wiss, Phil hist Kl* 1923, XVII, p. 110). See also here below, p. 377 n. 20.

¹⁷ Cf. *W Gl.*, No. 117.

¹⁸ JASCHKE only notes *ci-ste* in a usage similar to that of *gal te* (see below, p. 390). We find in DESGODINS' *Dict.* the meaning "therefore." I noted the meaning "how" in a passage of the Tibetan version of the Pūrṇa-Story (Narthang Print, hDul, Vol. Kha p. 41A, l. 5) which is, however, not included in the Sanskrit text of the *Dugā-tadana de dag gis de la dris pa* "khyod ni ci ste myur bar hñhor" (They asked her: How have you come back (so) quickly). The sentence would follow after *tābhīh sā prañṣa*, COWELL & NEIL, p. 28, l. 19). — In the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (SARAKI No. 5118) we find *yi-ste* and *ci-ste*, side by side with *de-nas* as alternative translations of *atha*.

¹⁹ A quotation from the *Dzañ-lun*. In F. J. SCHMIDT's edition (St. Petersburg 1813, p. 4, 4th line f. b) *de* is a misprint for *da* which was overlooked by SCHIEFNER in his "*Ergänzungen u. Berichtigungen*" (St. Petersburg 1852) (Narthang Print, *Mdo*, Vol. Sa, p. 200 A, 1/2).

a certain difficulty in cases like *ši-ra ste mgo-bo žes bya-ba*, a quotation in JÄSCHKE's *Dict.* s. v. *ste*, taken from SCHIEFNER's edition of TĀRANĀTHA's *Chos hbyun*.²⁰ Here again we find a similar usage of *la*. It occurs likewise in glosses, for instance in those which were adduced, though misunderstood, by LAUFER in his *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft der Tibeter*,²¹ but correctly explained as such by GRUNWEDEL: *tvam la tu-mi*, etc.²² I think we are dealing here with a Sanskritism, viz. the rendering of the Sanskrit locative. In the case of *la* SCHIEFNER once²³ referred back to "a similar usage in Sanskrit for the indication of a meaning" the occurrence of *la* (which SCHIEFNER calls "locative") in the Tibetan titles of the chapters of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*.²⁴ The usage of *ste* in enumerations and definitions and even certain extensions of this usage—generally limited to learned treatises—can probably all be explained as Tibetan analogies to a similar usage of the locative in Sanskrit. While a detailed discussion of the usage of *ste* would fall outside the scope of this paper which is concerned mainly with the etymological side, it should be noted that we owe to Professor J. BACOT a full translation of the extensive passage dedicated to *ste* by SITU in his grammar, *Sum rtags*.²⁵

Reverting to the etymology of *ste*, it must be added that we find a guttural plosive in *stegs*²⁶ which JÄSCHKE explains as "any contrivance for putting things on." Some other relatives can be found in the 11th Series, published by WOLFENDEN in JRAS 1937 (p. 631), to which apart from *ste*, *steñ*, *stegs*, also *hdeñ*, *hdoñ*

²⁰ SCHIEFNER's edition (St Petersburg 1868), p 11, l 11 has *te*, not *ste*. On this point cf his preface, pp VIII/IX, and see here above, p 376, n 16.

²¹ *Sitzungsber Bayer Akad Wiss* 1898, p 593.

²² The explanation was added by LAUFER, *op cit.* p 594 n 2.

²³ *Bull hist-phil de l'Acad de St Pétersbourg*, Vol IV (1818), col 286, n 1.

²⁴ For the usage of the locative referred to cf ZACHARIAE *Die indischen Wörterbücher* (BUEHLER's *Grundriss* I, 3 B), 1897, p 14.

²⁵ J BACOT, *Les Śloka grammaticaux de Thoṇmi Sambhota*, Paris 1928, p 28, n 2. The original passage can be found on p 20 of the reprint published by S Chandra Das in his *Introduction to the Tibetan Grammar*, Darjeeling 1915. Cf also BACOT's remarks on *ste* on pp 36, n 5, 98, and 217, n 3. Examples for *ste* can also be found in the two Tibetan Grammars translated by J SCHUBERT (*Mittlgen d Sem Or Spr* 1928, I Abt, p 44 and *Artibus Asiae*, 1st Supplement (Leipzig 1937) pp 47/8).

²⁶ On final *-s* see here below, p 385.

"to go"²⁷ should be added and from which *ltag* (see here below, p. 379) should be eliminated. *hdeñ* and *hdoñ* must have changed from the meaning "to rise" to that of "to go," in exactly the same manner, as *hoñ* changed from "to move downwards" to "to come" (see above, p. 373).

3. *la*

There is an Old Tibetan form *lah*²⁸ for *la*, as we had *nah* for *na*, and there is the verb *lañ* "to rise," a secondary form of *ldañ*. Does then *la*—*lañ* form a pair to match *na*—*nañ* and *ste*—*steñ*? I believe it does, but the discussion must start from what I suppose this pair to have been in an older stage of the language. The old pronunciation was **dla*—**dlañ*. As I have suggested on an earlier occasion,²⁹ the original consonantal group **dl-* could develop in three different ways. The *d* could either change its place by metathesis (**dl* > *ld*), or change to *b* (**dl* > *bl*), or be lost altogether (**dl* > *l*). So we have *ldoñ* and *loñ* "to be blind" from **dloñ*, as we have *ldañ* and *lañ* "to rise" from **dlañ*, and we have *ldad* and *blad*³⁰ "to chew" from **dlad*, or *ldud*, perf., fut. and imper. *blud* "to give to drink" from **dlud*, or *ldug*, perf. *ldugs* and (usually) *blugs*, fut. *blug*, imper. *blug(s)* "to pour" from *dlug*,³¹ as we have *bla* "above" from **dla* and *ldañ* "rise" from **dlañ* (with their respective secondary forms *la* and *lañ*). Since *ld* and *bl* can alternate within the forms of one and the same verb, as was the case in *ldud* and *ldug*, there does not seem to be any difficulty in supposing that **dl-* should have developed differently in the etymon **dla* and in its nasal derivative **dlañ*. That the secondary form *la* has become the form of the suffix is only to be expected owing to its close contact with the final consonants of preceding words. (Cf. *te* and *de* side by side with *ste*. and the drastic changes which the initials of our next suffix have

²⁷ *W. Gl.*, No. 72 will have to be modified, as these two words are nearer to Chin *téng* 騰.

²⁸ Cf. p. 13 of the paper by A. H. FRANCKE, quoted above, p. 370, n. 16.

²⁹ *W. Gl.*, p. 31.

³⁰ *blad* is so far only adduced by Tibetan lexicographers (cf. JÄSCHKE, *Dict.*, p. 334).

³¹ *dlug* actually occurs in an Old Tibetan manuscript, cf. *W. Gl.*, No. 41.

undergone.) It may well be that this secondary form is identical with *la* in the meaning "pass" or "mountain" (DESGODINS) which would then be "the top (which can be passed)." ³² As the nasalized form is here a *verb*, *la—lañ* belongs with *phyi—phyin*, *hog—hoñ*, or *so—soñ* from the point of view of word-formation.

A further support for etymology may be derived from comparison with Chinese. The pair *bla-hog*,³³ meaning "above—below," has its Chinese counterpart in *shang hsia* 上下. As the archaic form for *shang* was reconstructed as *d'iang* by KARLGREN,³⁴ *shang* fits well together with *ldañ* < **dlañ*, but not with *bla* < **dla*³⁵ (in Chinese, "above" and "to rise" are differentiated only by tone, not by word-formation). But the link between *bla* and *ldañ* seems to be supported just by the fact that the correspondence between *bla* and *shang* lacks in the same manner and to the same degree strictness, as that between *hog* and *hsia*.³⁶ Different members of the same etymological families are opposed to one another in the two languages.

As a member with guttural plosive *ltag* (< **tlag*) must be added to *bla* and *ldañ*. JASCHKE (*Dict.*, p. 217) explains it as "the upper part, or place" and as "above," and among his examples is *ltag na med pa* (= *anut-tara*, *Mahāvuytpatti* (SAKAKI), No. 2512), and *ltag hog sgyur ba* which he quotes from the *Dzan-lun*³⁷ with the translation "to turn upside down." The latter phrase must, of course, be identical with *bla hog sgyur ba* quoted just now (p. 379, n. 33); it means

³² I remember A H FRANCKE having expressed the opinion (perhaps only orally?) that *la* "pass" was identical with the suffix *la*, but I am unable to find the reference.

³³ This not only occurs as a gloss, viz *bla hog = sten-hog* (cf the Tibetan-Mongolian work, quoted above, p. 375, n. 15, on p. 1), but in actual texts. At the beginning of the "Upananda-Story" it is said of Upananda, who has the misfortune of obtaining a "shaky bed" (*khri ldeg pa ñg thob pa*), that he slept without moving in his bed fearing it might crash (Narthang Print, hDul, Vol Ka p. 402 A 1 1) *de ñg gus dogs pa bla hog ma bsgyur bas nyalo*. Cf here below, about *ltag hog sgyur ba*. The Chinese version is to be found in Vol XXIII, p. 1053 c of the *Taisho-Tripitaka*.

³⁴ Word Families in Chinese (*Bull Mus Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 5, Stockholm 1934), p. 66, No. 64, there transcribed *d'iang*.

³⁵ **dla* would go back to **dlaγ* (cf *W Gl.*, pp. 6/7).

³⁶ See above, p. 375, n. 7.

³⁷ CHANDI's ed 173 1 10, Narthang Mdo, sa. 343B5.

"to turn (horizontally) from one side to the other" (thereby turning top-side down). A nasal derivative of *ltag* is probable *ltañ* "bale, load" (= what is loaded upon). *blag* in *rna ba blag pa* might well belong here too, it would then not mean "to incline one's ears" (JASCHKE, *Dict.*, p. 383), but, on the contrary, to "raise, prick" them. Whether also the noun *blag*, which DESGODINS (*Dict.*, p. 693) translates as "facilité, commodité," is a member of the series, must be left undecided until further investigation.

To discuss finally the meaning of *la* as a suffix, there can be no doubt that it has acquired a very generalised meaning, but I believe that the meaning "above, upon, on top"³⁸ can still be felt in many cases both with *la* and with *las*.³⁹ The description "above, upon, on top" can be applied roughly to any location which is not either *in* or *under* or *behind* another object. And in modern Tibetan dialects *la* has even succeeded in ousting *na* out of its "legitimate" place to indicate the location "in."⁴⁰ A similar encroachment can be observed in the case of our next suffix, the original meaning of which was "below, under."

4. du (tu, r(u), su)

The fourfold nature of the suffix leads us to expect an initial consonantal group for its original form. This, I should like to suggest, was **dru*, which would have its nasal derivative in *druñ* (with a probable secondary form *ruñ*), a derivative of *druñ* in *sruiñ* "to guard," and perhaps another member of the family in *hdru* "to dig."

³⁸ JÄSCHKE (*Dict.*, pp. 382 and 509) differentiates *sa-bla* from *sa-steñ* as being "above the earth," as opposed to "upon the earth," and after him LAUFER (*Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig 1911, p. 233) translates *sa blañ gnod rbyin* as "Yakṣa über der Erde" I wonder whether *sa-bla* is more than an archaism for *sa-steñ*, meaning "on," not "above" the earth.

³⁹ See below, p. 387.

⁴⁰ Cf. for instance the table of 'Declensional Postpositions in Lahul Tibetan' in G. de ROERICH's monograph on "The Tibetan Dialect of Lahul" (*Tibetica I*, New York and Naggar, Ursavati Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum, 1933, p. 21), where *la* is mentioned for the dative and *la*, *ru*, *su* for the locative, and the author's remark on p. 23 *The dative and locative are similar in form, and are differentiated by the context.*

Let us first turn to the phonetic side. The elision of the r ($*dru > du$) after consonants, accompanied after some of them "by loss of voice ($*dru > tu$), is a common process of simplifying the arising consonantal groups. The loss of the d after vowels ($*dru > ru$) will be better understood if we keep in mind that originally a voiced offglide existed and was still often written in Old Tibetan after the vowels supposed to be final.⁴² Moreover, we can infer from the alternative forms *ya-du* and *ya-ru*,⁴³ noted by DESGODINS (*Dict*, p. 907) side by side with *yar* that *du* may perhaps have been an alternative form after vowels, later ruled out by a process of grammatical regularisation.⁴⁴ The loss of the final vowel ($ru > r$) is in accordance with what we shall find with our next suffix (see below, p. 386). The most complicated change has taken place in the form *su* which occurs after preceding final s . In order to understand it, we must remember that d is regularly elided in the group *sdr*. This can be gathered from *sroñ-ba* (*bsrañs*, *bsrañ*) "to straighten" being a denominative of *drañ-po* "straight." *sroñ* clearly developed from *sdroñ*.⁴⁵ Another example of this kind is, I think, *sruñ-ba* "to guard," developed from *sdroñ-ba* (for the meaning, see below). If, therefore, $*dru$ was added to a word ending in s , it was in keeping with this phonetic rule that the d was elided, and since in many cases another consonant preceded the final s —in addition to $-gs$, $-bs$, $-ñs$, there were also $-hs$ and $-ds$ —the fall (or assimilation to s ?) of the r is equally well comprehensible.

From the phonetic side, therefore, I do not see any objection

⁴² I leave out details which have been fully dealt with by others, most recently in the works by BACOT and SCHUBERT, quoted here p. 377, n. 25

⁴³ Cf. the Old Tibetan forms *lah* and *nah*, mentioned above, and *W Gl.*, pp. 6/7 and n. 6 on p. 6

⁴⁴ On *da-ruñ* and *da-duñ*, see below, p. 384

⁴⁵ See the remark on *ste*, p. 376, n. 16

⁴⁶ Cf. also *W Gl.*, Nos. 119 and 143 *dro-ba* "to be warm" and *sro-ba* "to warm" are not exact parallels, as I consider these to have developed from *nro* and *snro*. Cf. *W Gl.* § 96. I should like to modify $*nyrod$ and $*nyrod$ to $*snrod$ and $*nrod$ respectively, in view of the reconstruction of the Chinese archaic initial group *sn-* (*sm*), cf. my paper "The Reconstruction of Archaic Chinese," *Bull. School Or Studies*, Vol. IX (1937-39), pp. 285 etc.

⁴⁷ Cf. *W Gl.*, p. 29 and n. 2. Add p. 217, n. 1 to the reference to BACOT's work.

to the proposed etymology. Let us now discuss the semantic side. Since *druñ* is explained as "vicinity, place near," the meaning of **dru* would be "near." But as our suffix clearly occurs in the meanings "to, into, in," e.g., *chur* or *mer mchoñ-ba* (to jump into the water, or fire), a development from the meaning "near" seems out of the question.

However, I do not think that *druñ* meant primarily "vicinity." To answer the question as to its original meaning we must turn to *druñs* which is obviously a derivative of *druñ*.⁴⁷

Druñs is an ancient word for "root" (noted as such by Tibetan lexicographers),⁴⁸ and I suppose that "root," or "bottom, lower end" was also the original meaning of *druñ*.⁴⁹ Curiously enough, a similar meaning ("bottom") is to be found in CSOMA's *Diction-ary* (p. 65), side by side with the equivalents "nearness, side."⁵⁰ It is well known that *druñ* appears regularly as translation of Sanskrit *mūla* in the case of *vr̥kṣhamūle* (*ṣiñ-gi druñ-na*),⁵¹ and it may be noted that Sanskrit *mūla* has likewise developed the meaning "immediate neighbourhood" from the meaning "root." I found *druñ-nas* (not *druñs-nas*) in connection with *gcod* in the meaning "to cut entirely" (litt.: "from the root"), where also *rtsad-nas gcod-pa* can be used.⁵² And in like manner the common Tibetan word for "root" *rtsa* (of which the *rtsad* just quoted

⁴⁷ On the final *s*, see below, p. 385

⁴⁸ Cf. p. 13 B of the Tibetan-Mongolian work, quoted p. 375, n. 15 (*druñs-pa nyag = rtse-ba nag*)

⁴⁹ The obvious Chinese etymological equivalent is *chung* 中 "middle," ancient *t'ung*. But having undergone a different semantic development—cf. Tibetan *mtshil* "bottom, centre," and below, p. 383, n. 50. It cannot be quoted in support.

⁵⁰ JÄSCHKE obviously did not take over this meaning from CSOMA because he considered it wholly unfounded. In other cases well founded meanings of words, either taken over by JÄSCHKE from CSOMA and marked "Cs," or added independently by JÄSCHKE, were left out by S. Ch. DAS. I hope to revert to this point on another occasion.

⁵¹ Cf. also *Mahāvīryūtpatti* (SAKAKI), No. 8670. Cf. also No. 6979 (*Vṛkṣha-talam = trū-druñ*, or, *lyon-pahs hog*).

⁵² In the *Stories of the Matricide and Parricide*, translated by L. FEER (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, Vol. V (1833), pp. 91 etc.) Narthang Print, hDul, Vol. Ka, p. 183B11 *dehs mgo druñ-nas bcad-nas*. The preceding version of the story (p. 179A11) has, erroneously, I think, *druñ-pa nas*. *Druñ* (not *druñs*) is also written in both passages in the Ma-Kanjur of the British Museum.

is an alternative form) can also be used for "near."⁵³ In the many cases where we find *druñ* for the Sanskrit *sakāśa*,⁵⁴ the Tibetan translators wished apparently to be more polite than their Sanskrit original, describing a movement as directed towards "the root" of a person rather than towards his "presence"⁵⁵ (lit. "visibleness").

The meaning "root, bottom" may have been felt by the Tibetans in cases where now "vicinity" is a loose translation.⁵⁶ The weaver in the famous story of the *Dzan lun* on whom the unfortunate Dandin falls, is not sitting *near* a wall (*dehi druñ-na*), but "at the foot" of a wall, as is also to be gathered from the Chinese version which has *ch'iang hsia* 牆下.⁵⁷ *Druñ* is often used with words where, from the context, or by the nature of things, only the lower end can be meant. If an axe is placed "at the door" (*sgo-druñ*), it is only the bottom part of the door which can be in question. In the case of persons who appear "at the gate" (*sgo-druñ*), it is again the lower part which the Tibetans probably had in mind. A further example is *zabs*, the honorific for "foot." *Zabs-druñ* occurs in addresses of Tibetan letters and is then the equivalent (and perhaps even an imitation) of Chinese *tsu-hsia* 足下. In this connection it is interesting to note that JASCHKE in his Tibetan-German dictionary of 1871 states that *druñ* conveys a meaning of respect.⁵⁸ This remark which shows that JASCHKE too had felt the special meaning of *druñ*,⁵⁹ fails how-

⁵³ Cf. for instance the examples in JÄSCHKE (*Dict.*, 437)

⁵⁴ It regularly occurs so in the Tibetan version corresponding to the *Dnyāradāna*. That *druñ* is also used for *antika* can be gathered from the indices by J. RAHDER (*Glossary of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese Vernans of the Daśa-bhūmikasūtra*, 1928, p. 10) and F. WELLER (*Index to the Tibetan Translation of the Kāśyapaparivarta*, 1933, p. 97)

⁵⁵ Cf. also Chinese *kên hsia* 根下. I am indebted to Dr. A. WALEY for having confirmed to me that 根 not 根 is the regular form in old prints

⁵⁶ The Mongolian translations also show regularly the "loose" equivalent "*dergeda*" (Cf. KOWALEWSKI, *Dictionnaire mongol russe-français*, Vol. III (1849), p. 1776)

⁵⁷ Cf. I. J. SCHMIDT, *Der Weise u. der Thor* (St. Petersburg 1843), p. 272, l. 3 f. b.; *Taishō Tripitaka*, Vol. IV, p. 428 b, l. 28

⁵⁸ *Handwörterbuch der Tibetischen Sprache*, p. 266 "Man braucht es meist in ehrendem Sinne, eigentliches Höflichkeitwort und es aber durch vorgesetztes *zabs*, z. B. in Briefüberschriften"

⁵⁹ On the other hand, examples can be found where the meaning "bottom" is entirely

ever to appear in the later English edition of his dictionary.

No support can be derived from *sruñ-ba* "to guard," where it may even seem more natural that the "guardian" (*druñ-pa* "attendant" is equally inconclusive) is "near" somebody rather than standing exactly at another person's feet.

Da-duñ and *da-ruñ*, which as alternative forms can very well be referred back to an earlier **da-druñ*,⁶⁰ would require the meaning "bottom" rather than "side," as "up to now" and "from now on" seem to be the primary meanings.

As was indicated above, I should like to suggest that the verb *ruñ-ba* "to be fit, suitable, right" is probably a secondary form of *druñ*. If this is so, it is clear that its meaning can have arisen only from the meaning "root," not from the meaning "nearness." It would seem to support this etymology that the synonymous *rigs-pa* is also a denominative. The idea "to be right" would then be either "to be class," i. e. in accordance with a certain social ideal, or "to be rooted," i. e. well established (e. g. by tradition, custom, law).

That, primarily, **dru* also meant "root, bottom," may be inferred from examples like *chur mchoñ-ba* (to jump into the water), quoted above. The verb *hdru-ba*, if belonging here, would speak in favour of this meaning, because "to dig" would then be "to uproot." It would, however, be necessary to separate *hdru-ba* etymologically from *hbru-ba*, because the latter has a dental secondary form (*hbrud-pa*).⁶¹

In like manner in the case of *druñ*, the meaning "vicinity"

out of the question. In the *Karmasataka* (FEEN, *Journ As* IXme Série, T XVII [1001], p. 473) we have the story of the huntsman who, being thirsty, goes near a well and then looks into it (Narthang Print, hDul, Vol Sa, p. 139 B, l. 7) *skom gyis gduñ nas khron pa deñi druñ-du soñ ste/des khron pa deñi nañ du blas na*

⁶⁰ Cf. also *da-ste* and *da-bar*. DESGODINS has the meaning "adhuc" side by side with "et" and "nunc." While JÄSCHKE (*Dict*, p. 247) notes only the meaning "still, still more" (also given, e. g., by GRÜNWEDEL [*Legenden des Naropa*, Leipzig 1933, p. 182]), the meaning "up to now" can be gathered from an example adduced by him on p. 379 of his dictionary s. v. *soñ da ruñ ña (=ñda) ma son* (It is not yet past five o'clock).

⁶¹ While JÄSCHKE treats *hdru-ba* as a secondary form of *hbru-ba* and notes also *hbrud pa* as identical with *hbrud pa*, *hbrud pa* is differentiated as "to polish" from *hdru-ba* "to dig" in DESGODIN's dictionary (p. 532).

was developed from the meaning "root" and gradually seems to have overruled this original meaning. A generalized local meaning was taken on by **dru*. Sometimes we find the same word used alternately with **dru*, or *druñ* (e.g. *sgor* or *sgo-druñ*). The process of generalizing the local meaning is strongly reminiscent of what we have observed in the case of its antonym *la*. Both suffixes are used to denote the goal of a motion which is imagined either above or below a certain level (but is, apparently, never envisaged as on the same level). When denoting the place where somebody or something is, or something is going on, *la* and **dru* share their function with *na* which they have jointly crowded out in certain modern Tibetan dialects.⁶² In some cases *ste* too seems to concur with **dru*. There is perhaps hardly any difference between *hdi lta ste* and *hdi lta*.⁶³

5. *s* and Its Combination with *na* and *la*

The suggestion that "the suffix of the agent is probably identical" with the final *s* of *nas* and *las*, was, as far as I can see, first made by Professor Sten Konow in his sketch of the Tibetan language which is embodied in the *Linguistic Survey of India*.⁶⁴ Since *nas* and *las* have an ablative meaning, it would seem in keeping with this suggestion that *s* itself had developed the meaning of agency (and instrumentality) from an original ablative meaning, just as in Latin the function of instrumentality was taken over by the ablative case. As *na* means "in," and *la* meant, at least primarily, "above," the two suffixes would have to be differentiated as "from within" and "from above."

While I believe that the differentiation of meaning can still, at least to a certain degree, be observed in Tibetan texts along the lines indicated above—one would, for instance, probably find only *khuñ-nas* "from the hole," as opposed to *rtu-las* "from the horse"—the etymology for our suffix which I am going to suggest, presupposes a different linguistic development. I should like to

⁶² See above

⁶³ See above about *da ruñ* and *da-ste*

⁶⁴ Vol. III, P. I (1903), p. 27

⁶⁵ On the differentiation between *las* and *nas* cf. also BACOT, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

explain the *s* as shortened from either *sa* in the meaning "place," or from *so*, which is a derivative of *sa*. The word *so*, which was mentioned above (p. 374) as the etymon of *soñ*, has already been referred back to *sa* by JÄSCHKE (*Dict.*, p. 578), who adduces its occurrence in the phrase *sor-bžag-pa* "to put in its place" and in the compounds *ñan-so* "hell,"⁶⁶ *rañ-so* "proper place," and *hkhrul-so* "locus errandi, mistake," to which *bañ-so* "tomb," *brañ-so* "brisket," *nam-so*, or *nabs-so* "sixth nakshatra," *chad-so* "limited term," *thad-so* "opposite place," *gtad-so* "refuge," *chu-so* "urinary organs," *sña sor* "in the first place" and *rtiñ-sor* "furthermore" (?)⁶⁷ may be added. Furthermore, it is certainly the word *so* "place" which we meet reduplicated as *so so* in the meaning "separately, singly."⁶⁸

To discuss first the phonetic side of our etymology, we must suppose the early loss of the final vowel, which was either *a*, or *o*. We have just observed, in the case of the preceding suffix, the loss of *u* in *ru*. If we take into account that our suffix (apart from *la* and *na*) is appended chiefly to the "genitival" suffix (*gyi*, *kyi*, *yi*, *hi*), an exact parallel can be adduced in the so-called "gerundial" particle *gyin*, *kyin*. This consists, as will be discussed more in detail in a paper on the Tibetan pronouns to be published soon elsewhere, of the same "genitival" suffix and the suffix *na* "in," shortened to *n*.

We shall discuss below the shortening of *la* and *na* to *l* and *n* respectively in combination with some other suffixes. Moreover, we observe the loss of final *a* and *e* in a number of Tibetan bisyllables, especially when they are used in compounds: We have *bu-ga* and *bug* "hole," *lco-ga* and *lcog* "lark," *nya-ga* and *nyag* "steelyard," *da-ra* and *dar* "buttermilk," *sgoñ-ña* and *sgoñ* "egg," *ža-la* and *žal* "clay," and *tha-ga-pa* "weaver" side by side with

⁶⁶ JÄSCHKE explains this word as "hell" s v. *ñan*, and as "inferior place" s v. *so*. He also refers to *ñan soñ* (p. 101). For the latter compound cf. *Mahāyānupatti* (ed. SAKAKI), No. 4747.

⁶⁷ JÄSCHKE refers from *sña-sor* to *rtiñ-sor* in his dictionary, but fails to explain this compound, s v. *rtiñ*.

⁶⁸ Cf. the distributive usage of reduplication in *re re*. For a similar usage in Chinese cf., for instance, C. W. MATZEN, *A Course of Mandarin Lessons*, Shanghai 1900, Lesson LXVII (Distribution by Repetition), p. 167.

hthag-pa "to weave," and *bon chog* "ceremony of the Bonpos" side by side with *cho ga pa* "the performer of such ceremony," or we have *yig ge* and *yig* "letter," *lhag ge* and *lhag pa* "superior," *lhan ne* and *lhan than* "clear," *gsal le ba* and *gsal ba* "to be clear," or *cho lo* and *chol* "dice"

From the syntactical point of view the frequent usage of the genitival suffix mentioned above would speak in favor of our suffix being originally a noun. We have, however, still to discuss the semantic side. *Nas khyi la rdun* would then mean "I place dog upon beat" (or "beating"). This evokes at once the parallel of English *by*, originally meaning "near" (cf. German *bei*), as a preposition of agency. We must, therefore, infer for our suffix that the idea of agency was at first not expressed, but only implied by it. And the same would be true of the ablative meaning of *nas* and *las*. Moreover, we must keep in mind that with certain verbs (e.g. those of borrowing, or buying) the indication of the place where this action occurs is as justifiable as the ablative meaning of *nas* which is preferred by Indo-European languages. That neither *las* nor *nas* had, in accordance with our etymology, originally any ablative meaning may perhaps account for the not infrequent use of *las* and *nas* in cases where one would rather expect *na* and *la*.¹⁰ Also the meaning "among" of *las* will perhaps be understood more easily, if we refer it back to our etymology.

The analysis of the suffixes *nas* and *las* may also be supported by the fact that, in the case of the former, the order of the suffixes can be inverted. *des na* exists as well as *de nas*.¹¹

A last argument in favour of our etymology may be derived from a look at the part played by finals in Tibetan word formation. The suffixes *nas* and *las*, which we can translate as 'in place' and 'above place,' have their counterparts in the words *yas* "above-place" and *mas* "below place," of which *yas* is explained by JÄSCHKE as 'above' and "from above, and *mas* as 'below' and "downwards." While *nas* does not occur as an independent word, an obvious derivative *gnas* exists both as a noun in the

¹⁰ Cf., for instance H. BECKH *Beiträge zur tibetischen Grammatik* (Abhandl. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. Phil. hist. Kl. 1908. Anhang. Abh. II) p. 17 n. 5.
¹¹ On the "Bisuffixes" see below p. 389.

meaning "place," and as a verb in the meaning "to be in a place" *Gnas* has its counterpart in *gyas* "right" (as opposed to *gyon* "left"). In like manner as *gnas* literally means "in-place," *gyas* literally means "high place" with a semantic development which has parallels in the Scandinavian words for "right."¹¹

It would fall outside the scope of this paper to discuss in full how far it is possible to refer back to *so* or *sa* final *s* in other Tibetan derivatives. We see, however, two groups in which this seems possible. The first consists of nominal derivatives: *zabs* "depth" can be well explained as "deep place," *nags* "forest" as "dark place," or *dbus* "middle" as "head-place."¹² The two words for "side" *ños* and *phyogs* (the latter with the secondary form *logs*¹³) may primarily mean "face-place" and "hand-place,"¹⁴ the latter to be referred directly to a derivative *phyog*¹⁵ (*log*) of *phyag* (*lag*). It would furthermore seem to support our etymology that in the case of words denoting location we have side by side forms with and without final *s* of nearly or entirely identical meaning, as we have assumed in the case of *druñ* and *druñs*, and as we can observe with *khoñ* "inside" and *khoñs* "middle," or *khuñ* "hole" and *khuñs* "mine."

The other group of *-s*-derivatives is of verbal origin. In addition to a mere local meaning—as in *sems* "thinking place = mind," *rjes* "leaving-behind-place" = track," *skyabs* "protecting-place" = protection," *šubs* (for primary *sugs*¹⁶) "entering place = sheath,

¹¹ Swedish *höger*, Norwegian *høgr*, etc. *Gyon* "left" is a derivative of *yo* "oblique". On the semantic development of the thesis (Upsala 1907) by D. FAYELUND, *Les changements de signification des expressions de droite et de gauche dans les langues romanes et spécialement en Français*. The author wishes, however, to explain Swedish *hoger* differently.

¹² Cf. the etymology of "capital" *Dbu* too can mean "middle".

¹³ On *phyogs* and *logs*, *phyag* and *lag* cf. W. Gl., pp. 12 and 31.

¹⁴ Cf. the similar development in English, *on all hands*, *on the one hand* etc.

¹⁵ Cf. *no* which, on its part, is a derivative of **na* as existing in *ñā*.

¹⁶ This meaning seems to be behind *rje* "to barter" and *rjed* "to forget". For the latter word and meaning JÄSCHKE has already referred to *lus-pa* "to remain behind to be forgotten".

¹⁷ There is also the variant *skyobs* "help assistance" which would correspond to the "present" *skyob*.

¹⁸ Cf. *mdzud* which WOLFENDEY was certainly right in considering a secondary form of *mdzug* and which he referred back to *hdzugs-pa*. Cf. his article in *Language* IV.

case etc.," *steg* "putting-on-place" = table, stool, etc.," *hdoms* "coming-together (of thighs)-place" = pudenda,—a more abstract meaning "opportunity, occasion" would here have to be assumed in a number of cases: *zas* "eating opportunity" = food," *gos* "clothing opportunity" = clothes," *ltas* "seeing opportunity" = sign, omen," *gros* "going opportunity" = advice." The same semantic development can also be observed with *sa* itself when preceded by verbs, as is shown by the examples adduced by JÄSCHKE in his dictionary (p. 569). But, of course, examples where *sa* shows a purely local meaning in the combinations will also be found, as e.g. *hgol-sa*—"place where two roads separate," or *hdus-sa*—"meeting place."

6. Combinations of Suffixes

Dr. P. CORDIER, in his *Cours de Tibétain classique* was the first, I believe, to draw attention to the combination of two suffixes, which he calls "bisuffixes." Some of them we may, according to

(1928), p. 278 and his note in *JRAS* 1937, p. 627.—I found *bugs* for *subs* in the story quoted above, p. 382, n. 52 (Narthang Print, *hDul*, Vol. *Ka* pp. 178A1 and 183B1). Cf. also *sbubs* for *sbugs* (belonging with *bu-ga*, *hbugs-pa*, etc.)

* Cf. above, p. 377. The meaning "to put on" for **steg* is, of course, as conjectured as the verb itself.

* The actual verbs known so far are *gon-pa* and *hgo-ba*.

* Cf. the etymology of "method" *lgras* occurs as "going, walking."

* Cf. French *il y a lieu de le dire*, where *lieu* assumes the meaning of "occasion." A similar development can be observed with Chinese *so* 所 'place'. Cf. my paper (1937), p. 100 where this development has been touched upon.

* A very interesting extension of this latter usage exists in modern Tibetan, as can be gathered from a note in Professor BACOT's *Stôkas grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhota* (p. 207, n. 2). While speaking of "un véritable locatif spatial (qui) remplace le datif verbal dans le langage du Tibet oriental" *sa lieu, et non la, pour Exemple hgro sa, pour aller*, he goes on to say "Ce locatif verbal forme des substantifs hgro sa, chemin."

* Hanoi 1907/8 (lithographed).

* P. 25. In view of the rarity of CORDIER's work I reproduce here his list of bisuffixes, leaving out examples and replacing the Greek letters by figures.

- 1 Suf. genitif suivi d'un suf. allatif *kys, gys, etc. + la*
- 2 Suf. genitif suivi d'un suf. illatif *kys, gys, etc. + r*
- 3 Suf. instrumental suivi d'un suf. messif *kys, gys, etc. + na*
- 4 Suf. élatif suivi d'un suf. genitif *nas + kys*
- 5 Suf. élatif suivi d'un suf. instrumental *nas + kys*

our analysis, call "trisuffixes," or if we accept the denomination suffix for the genitival *kyi*, *gyi* etc., he may even speak of "quadri-suffixes."

Without discussing CONDIRN's list of bisuffixes any further, I should like to conclude this article with three bisuffixes which have so far not been recognised as such, viz. *la + ste*, *na + du*, and *na + ste*.

The first of these three combinations I find in the "conjunction" *gal-te*. From the phonetic point of view, we observe here the same shortening of *la > l*, as in *tha-mal-pa* "vulgar," developed from *tha-ma-la-pa*.⁶⁶ The first component of *gal-te* is the interrogative and relative pronoun *ga* which is to the more common *gañ*, what *na* is to *nañ*.⁶⁷ As is well known, the condition proper in the Tibetan clause of condition is expressed by the suffix *na* added to the verb. The addition of *gal-te*, which one may call optional, may be explained by the desire of the Tibetan translator to cover the Sanskrit *yadi* by a special word. I even suppose that *gal-te* was modeled after *yadi*, of which it is the most common equivalent. In using *ga* the Tibetans probably tried to render the Sanskrit pronominal *ya-*, imitating at the same time the peculiar "relational" use of *yadi*. In support of this theory I refer to *ci-ste* consisting of another pronoun and the suffix *ste*, which is sometimes used for *gal-te*.⁶⁸

The pronoun *ga* is also the first component of a syntactical structure exhibiting the second combination, *na + du*. Instead of the very common sentence *rgyal-po gañ-na-ba*⁶⁹ *der soñ* ("he went to the place where the king was") we find not quite infre-

6 Suf elatif suivi d'un suf illatif *nas + su*

7 Suf ablatif suivi d'un suf inessif *las + na*

8 Suf illatif suivi d'un suf génitif *tu, du, etc + gyi, etc*

9 Suf illatif suivi d'un suf instrumental *tu, du, etc + gyis, etc*

10 Suf illatif suivi d'un suf allatif *tu, du, etc + la*

11 Suf illatif suivi d'un suf inessif *tu, du, etc + na*

12 Suf illatif suivi d'un suf elatif *tu, du, etc + nas*

13 Suf illatif suivi d'un suf illatif *tu + tu*

⁶⁶ Cf JÄSCHKE, Dict., p 227

⁶⁷ This will be discussed more in detail in another article

⁶⁸ Cf JÄSCHKE, Dict., p 140

⁶⁹ Or *ga na ba der*, or even *ga na bar*

quently the structure *rgyal-pohi gan-du soñ*. The analysis can hardly be doubtful. We observe the shortening of *na > n*,⁹⁰ as we have seen *la* shortened to *l* in *gal-te*, and we find again that the two suffixes are appended to *ga*, instead of *gañ*.⁹¹ The literal translation "king's what-in (= whereabouts)-towards went" does not present us with any difficulty from the point of view of intelligibility. As is known, the Tibetan dictionaries enter *gan* as a noun with the meaning "nearness,"⁹² but it can be gathered from them at the same time that this "noun" occurs only in combination with suffixes, such as *du* and *nas*. *Gan-nas* would show us *ga* followed by a "trisuffix," and would be another combination which is not included in CORDIER's list.

A pronoun, though not one so far recognised as such, is also the first component of our third combination, *na + ste*. I am referring to *ho* which is generally described as "final particle," and to its occurrence in *hon-te*. While I must reserve to the paper mentioned above the proof for the statement that *ho* is a demonstrative pronoun and that *ho-na*, therefore, means "this-in = under these circumstances," it is clear that the suffix *ste*, which, as we have seen, can imply the meaning of "addition,"⁹³ would concur in emphasizing the reference made by *ho-na* to a preceding statement of facts. The use of *hon-te* (lit. "this-in-upon") seems therefore quite justified both in connection with a concessive *hañ* "also" in *hon-tañ* (= *ho-na-ste-hañ*), then alternating with *hon-kyañ* (= *ho-na-kyañ*), and in double questions. To take the example included in DESGODINS' dictionary (p. 900) for the latter case, in the sentence *gson-nam hon-te ši-ham ci* ("Is he alive or dead?) *hon-te* serves as "conjunction" in the proper meaning of the word, in order to join together the two queries between which *ci* invites us to choose: "Alive?, this-in-upon = thereto-added, dead? which?"

⁹⁰ See also shortening *na > n* in *gyin*, mentioned above

⁹¹ So *gan-du* must not be confused with *gan-du*

⁹² JÄSCHKE, *Dict*, p. 66, DESGODINS (*Dict*, p. 145) gives adverbial equivalents

⁹³ See p. 376

REVIEWS

An Album of Chinese Bamboos; a Study of a Set of Ink-Bamboo Drawings, A.D. 1785. By William Charles WHITE. The University of Toronto Press, 1939.

This second study from the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology sets a high standard of beauty. The twelve paintings that form its basis have been surrounded with all the perfection of modern typographic art. Enlarged reproductions of details and of the seals and inscriptions make possible a closer appreciation than usual of the painter's workmanship. Not content with offering a simple exhibition, the author has added a wealth of information on the place of the bamboo in Chinese life and thought. In refraining from subjective appraisal, and in seriously attempting to relate the objects to the natural and social environment of the painter, the author, it strikes us, has treated Chinese art as it ought to be treated. It is precisely because these many excellences of the work will be so readily recognized¹ that this reviewer feels he may fairly call attention to less happy aspects of the publication. Since a substantial portion of the book consists of translations, it becomes necessary to compare these with the originals, as a result of which some fundamental questions arise regarding the method and aim of translation from the Chinese.

The rendering of Chinese poetry into western languages has its unquestioned difficulties. The concise and allusive character of the text presents us often with a succession of images whose connection must be formed in the mind of the reader. For this reason it is never necessary for the translator to apologize for the lack of literalness in his translation. For this reason, too, there need not be only one possible translation, so that the translator must be granted a certain immunity from criticism. But the process cannot be wholly anarchistic, and at least one principle may be agreed

¹ Since this went to press my attention has been called to the careful review by Professor DUYVENDAK, *TP* 35 376-385. Some of the same errors noted here have already received comment there.

on, namely, that the translation must make sense. This follows from the assumption that the translator has found sense in the original, failing which it becomes questionable whether the job was worth doing.

From the many poems which the author has here rendered with an eye to "accuracy of meaning, and the expression of Chinese feeling and spirit" (Preface, vi), we select a short one by the famous poet, Li Po

THE KIND GRANDMOTHER BAMBOO

In the Tang t'u district is a mountain called the Kind Grandmother Mountain, the bamboos of which are famous for flute-making

The wild bamboos that grow up in the rocks
 Retain the mists, and reflect the river islets
 The azure tint that dyes the greenish wave,
 Is the hollow sound of the morning cold
 The song of the dragon I have not yet heard,
 And the melody of the phoenix ought to be good
 The ' Withered Willow of P'u should not be learnt,
 Yet the chaste heart will always guard itself

(*An Album of Chinese Bamboos*, pp. 40-41)

It does not require a knowledge of Chinese to divine that something here is grievously askew. Four less congruous couplets it would be difficult to assemble outside of the pages of *Alice in Wonderland*. Yet this is in face of the plain statement of Li Po that he is writing a poem about a particular kind of bamboo used in making musical instruments. After the first couplet, the reader will be hard put to it to find any relevance to that subject or, for that matter, any coherence in the lines themselves. The gist of the second couplet is that a color effect observed in water is actually a sound produced by absence of heat,—a transmutation of the physical world to raise the hair of even the most fantastic Chinese alchemist. The third couplet speculates about animal noises, while the last ends on an obscure moral note.

We are not trying here to ridicule, but to emphasize the sad fact that the whole translation is nonsense of the first order. And while the writing of original nonsense may be a supreme art, it is denied to the translator, who takes upon himself in some measure a responsibility for the reputation of the artist whom he undertakes to introduce to others. It must be obvious that the poem as presented could not have been written by Li Po. The question is then, what did Li Po write? To answer this, we must go back to his text

野竹攢石生	含烟映江島
翠色落波深	虛聲帶寒早
龍吟曾未聽	鳳曲吹應好
不學蒲柳凋	貞心常自保

The evolution of this into the rendering that we have already quoted is of particular interest because it contravenes a general principle of Chinese grammar. Of all the elements felt to be indispensable in a western proposition or sentence, Chinese is most "careless" about the subject. A large percentage of ordinary conversation lacks it, and in fine prose it is frequently absent. The feeling of the writer seems to be that the reader should be able to hold the subject in mind without constant help from him, and this especially in a short poem where it has been prefixed in a way that might be expected to keep it permanently in view. The chief error of the translator has been the introduction of various irrelevant subjects. Conversely, the chief improvement to be made is a remarkably simple one, since it requires only that the Kind Grandmother Bamboo be accepted as the grammatical subject of all four couplets. Starting from this point of view, we immediately reach the following for our second couplet.¹

Its (the bamboo's) green falls on the deepest wave,
Its clear notes have something of the morning cold

And while this may not be science, it is at least understandable poetry

¹ The only suggestion we have to make about the first couplet is that the word translated "reflect" more commonly means "is reflected" or "casts a shadow on"

The relevance of the next couplet depends on the fact that "dragon singing" is a term for the music of the long flute, while "phoenix singing" describes that of the *shang*, or pipes (Cf *Tz'u-hai* for details)

When it (the bamboo) gives out dragon sounds (i.e., when played as a flute), it is like nothing ever heard before,
When it pipes phoenix music, it is supremely beautiful

The objectionable "Willow of P'u" is merely a kind of pussy-willow, used through centuries of Chinese literature as a symbol of premature decay (Again *Tz'ü-hai*)

It (the Kind Grandmother Bamboo) has not learned to
wither like the willow,
Its clean heart is forever kept

Thus the three couplets describe the color, the resonance, and the durability of a species of bamboo that is especially adapted for flutes, just as Li Po promised they would in his introductory note

Space forbids an examination of the remaining poems, most of which appear to have rather more coherence than the one discussed. It would be unfair to confine ourselves to a criticism of the author's treatment of poetic material, since his more important aim was "to test the usefulness of the Chinese Library of the Museum in research of a literary historical nature" (Preface, vi). and research may be expected to deal largely with facts. For such research Chinese offers materials unparalleled in any other of the world's literatures, and the student with a good library at his command may spend days or weeks tracking down minutiae. Obviously the pressure of time makes it necessary to exercise a sense of proportion, and no one who hopes to publish during his lifetime can expect to be exhaustive on every detail. But this makes it all the more imperative that there be some agreement on minimal standards, and we feel that there might be a general willingness to accept the following requirements that Chinese words be correctly transliterated, and that names and dates be properly identified.

For most problems of this sort no elaborate research library is

essential The basic tools are four works which can stand, and should stand, on every student's desk

- A *Tz'ü hai* 辭海, most recent of the smaller encyclopaedias, improving in details, though not in bulk, on the better known *Tz'ü yuan* 辭源
- B *Chung kuo jên-ming ta-tz'ü tien* 中國人名大辭典, a dictionary of biography
- C *Chung kuo ku chun ti-ming ta tz'u tien* 中國古今地名大辭典, a dictionary of place names
- D *Li tai ming-jên nien-p'u* 歷代名人年譜, one of several good compilations of the known dates for individuals (Com Press edition)

None of these books is a final authority, but they are all convenient first references To illustrate their use in elementary research we select a dozen problems found between pages 16 and 27 of *An Album of Chinese Bamboos*

- 1 "Pao T'ing Po was born about the year 1725 and died in his eighty seventh year Somewhere about 1808, when he was eighty six years old, he was given the *chu jên rank*. His death occurred the following year" (page 16, lines 16 ff)

These dates clearly cannot be made to harmonize If Pao died in 1809 at the age of 87 (*suì*), then his birth year can be found by subtracting 86 from this date, giving us 1723, and not "about the year 1725" If we refer to tool B, we find the name of Pao T'ing po 鮑廷博 on page 1629, row 3, with the information that he was given the *chu jen* degree 'during the Chia ch'ing period' 嘉慶中 Now 1808 is the exact middle of that period, but the expression "during" cannot be construed so precisely as to enable us to reckon other dates from it We need here to make use of tool D which, in the absence of an index, requires the student to run through the pages in the general neighborhood of the dates sought Having located the Chia-ch'ing period in volume 5, he will readily find a record of Pao's death on p 101 Working backwards, he comes to the entry regarding his birth on p 82 The

dates given are 1728 1814, hence all three of the statements quoted above require correction

- 2 " was once sent with Ch'un Kuan as an envoy ten thousand miles away to a northern region" 以春官貳卿萬里使北畧 (20 6 f)

Whenever the presence of a personal name is suspected in a text, one will do well to check immediately with tool B. Here we not only discover no Ch'un Kuan, but find no example of the use of Ch'un as a surname. In tool A we find a detailed discussion of the term *ch'un kuan* as a popular appellation for the Board of Rites. This gives us an opportunity to restore the following expression, *êrh-ch'ing*, which the translator has passed over in silence, but which tool A defines as an appellation for a vice-president in one of the six boards. Then since the first character may mean "as," though never "with" in the sense of accompaniment, the first half of our expression is clearly 'as a vice president of the Board of Rites,' and the personal name vanishes. This is as far as one can go with the elementary tools, but reference to the dynastic histories, which belongs, perhaps, to a more difficult level of research, elicits the fact that when Li K'an was sent on his mission to Annam he did hold the official rank indicated. *Yuan History* 209 (K'ai ming ed 6594 2)

3 Any considerable journey of a Chinese envoy northward from the court of Kublai Khan would seem surprising. Li K'an's most important mission, as all his biographers agree, was to Annam, in the opposite direction. Since it is conceivable that *pei-ching* is a place name, we refer to tool C where we find it on p 187 3 with a cross reference to *Pi-ching* 比景, p 161 4 and the very welcome location 'in southern Annam. Unfortunately, as an official name *Pei-ching* apparently ended in the T'ang dynasty, while it does not in any case seem to have been a place of sufficient importance to be the goal of Li K'an's mission. But tool C gives an etymology, real or fancied, that provides us with the key to the problem. The name *Pei-ching* was given, it is said, because the place was so far south that people had to "look out of the north side of the house to see the sun." Thus *pei-ching* has

somewhat the connotation of "the antipodes," and is an appropriate term for the extreme *southern* regions, to which LI K'an did in fact go

4 "Pai Lo t'ien" 白樂天 (20 11)

While the translator may have felt it to be unnecessary, it might help the general reader to have the identification here with the poet, Po Chu i, whose poem "Night Snow" faces the frontispiece. The identification of "fancy names" can be readily made with the help of the appended *I-ming piao* 異名表 in tool B.

5 "a stone carving after Wang Yu ch'êng of the K'ai Yuan period (A D 713 742)" 王右丞開元石刻 (27 3f)

As in the preceding example, use of the appendix in tool B results in the identification here of a famous poet, WANG Wei 王維. His dates are found in tool D, ch 2, pp 65, 86, to be A D 701 761, not 699 759, as given on p 40 of *Chinese Bamboos*. The last year of the K'ai yuan period should be 741. After these corrections have been made, it is clear that the expression "of the K'ai Yuan period" refers not to the artist, but to the carving, as indeed it must for grammatical reasons.

6 "two famous scholars of the Sung Chin Dynasties" (25 19)

HUANG Shan ku 黃山谷, by use of tool B, is identified as HUANG Ting chien 黃庭堅, whose dates, including the day and hour of birth, are given in tool D, ch 3, pp 54, 78, as 1045 1105. This identification appears here and there in *Chinese Bamboos*, though HUANG Shan ku has the dates 1045 1105 on p 52, while HUANG Ting chien has the dates 1050 1110 on p 44. In any case, he was a contemporary and close friend of Su Shih (Tung p'ò), and neither had anything to do with the Chin dynasty, which has made its intrusion here through an incorrect division of the phrases in the text.

7 "Fang Lang, named Ju tung, of Shih Men" 石門方蘭如薰 (21 20f)

The 4th character in the text is read *lan*, not *lang*, and the 6th is *hsun*, not *tung*. Reference to tool B discloses no person with the name FANG Lan, but on p 65 2 is the name TANG Hsun for a

poet and painter whose home was in Shih mên His *tzū* is there given as Lan shih 蘭士, the Lan-ju of PAO's text apparently being a variant form

8 "Po Chi-fu of Hsien yu 鮮于伯幾父 (26.32)

As a place-name Hsien-yu is unknown to tool C, nor does Po appear as a surname in tool B On the other hand, Hsien yu was the surname of ten persons listed on p 1709 of the latter tool Among them one soon notes HSIEN-YU Shu 鮮于樞, who lived during the Yuan dynasty His *tzū* was Po-chi, and he was one of the leading poets and painters of the period His dates are given in D, ch 4, pp 35, 56, as 1257-1302 Thus the place name vanishes into a surname, and fu is no part of the name, but a honorific term

9. "the pen of a Tung of the Nan History (seventh century B C)" 南董之筆 (24 22)

A Nan History of the 7th century B C is not generally known to bibliographers On the other hand, tool A defines the expression "Nan Tung" as a descriptive term for accurate historical writing, derived from the names of two famous historians of the Ch'un-ch'iu period, Nan shih 南史 and Tung Hu 董狐.

10 "Sêng Mêng hsiu" 僧夢休 (27 18)

Reference to tool B shows that Sêng was never a surname It means "Buddhist monk," and is often prefixed to their religious names

11 "Mr Chan Yu" 潛游先生 (24 34)

No authority can be found in tool A for the pronunciation *chan*, which should be *t'an* in the 3rd tone Tool B gives no evidence of this having ever been a surname In any case, the term *hsien shêng* in classical Chinese is most frequently attached to a man's *hao* T'an yu does not appear as a *hao* in the appendix to tool B, so that elementary research must stop with this

12 "studied the art under the master Huang Hua the Old Man" 學於乃翁黃華老人 (25 2)

For "the master," under whom T'an yu studied, the translation should be "his father," as given in tool A Huang hua is found

in the appendix to B, and identified as the *hao* of Wang T'ing-yün 王庭筠. His brief biography in B, p. 113.2, makes no mention of his son, but we may at least assume that "Mr. Chan Yu" had the family name of Wang. His father's dates are given in tool D, ch. 3, p. 105 and ch. 4, p. 16, as 1156-1202. If we go beyond the elementary level to dynastic histories, we find at the end of his biography in the Chin History, ch. 126 (KM ed. 6110.3), the statement that his son, Wang Man-ch'ing 王曼卿, had the *hao* T'an-yu, and was an able poet and calligrapher.

A study of the foregoing examples shows how important is the regular checking of names and dates. Fine Chinese writing will contain allusive and poetic passages which one may well despair of ever understanding, but the factual material can generally be pinned down. On the whole then, the *Album of Chinese Bamboos* is a disappointment to the student of Chinese, since it illustrates how far from elementary competence the sinological field seems to be. We have expressed our disappointment at such length not from petulance or animosity, but from the conviction that the remedy lies not too far to seek. However mysterious and impenetrable the Chinese jungle may have appeared to the early missionaries, its underbrush has been somewhat cleared by generations of devoted scholars, and pathways have been opened here and there. But these ways are nothing else than methods, and those that serve the translator best are the methods of philology. We have in this review called attention to no error that cannot be easily corrected through a simple application of the tools and methods that are already available. To ignore these tools because they may be still imperfect is only to postpone the improvement that can come to them solely through use. As long as there are problems in the Chinese language, the output of each translator must be judged less on its artistic and popular appeal, and more on its use of, and contribution to a sure, scientific, philological method.

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